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LETTERS

FROM

THE WEST INDIES,

DURING A VISIT

IN

THE AUTUMN OF MDCCCXXXVI,

AND THE

SPRING OF MDCCCXXXVII;

BY

WILLIAM LLOYD, M. D.

“Every thing being ready, the whole party embarked, about the setting of the Pleiades, or seven stars, according to ARISTOBULUS; that is, about the end of October.”

ROLLIN.

“One glance of wonder, as we pass, deserve
The Books of Time. Productive was the world
In many things, but most in books.”

POLLOK.

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P R E F A C E .

HAVING accompanied my friends, JOSEPH STURGE, THOMAS HARVEY, and JOHN SCOBLE, on a visit to the West Indies, the Letters, now presented to the public, performed the office of a Journal; those circumstances, and incidents which I thought would interest my friends, were forwarded to them, through this medium. I made no search after afflictions and distresses, either to promote or substantiate any particular object: my mind was unprejudiced, rather inclining to hope that the state of things in the West Indies, might be better than had been represented, as occurring under the momentous experiment of the Apprenticeship system. I attended but few of the Special Magistrates' Courts: they were so rife with contrarities, discrepancies, persecutions, and animosities, my mind came to the conclusion, that men who could be governed by the apprenticeship laws, could be governed by the laws of free men; and fully adopted DR. MADDEN's sentiment; "my opinion is, that the negroes are qualified for complete and immediate freedom."

On my arrival at New York, I was unwilling to leave the United States, without becoming a little acquainted with them; accordingly I deferred my return to England upwards of eleven months, and landed at Liverpool very recently. The *West Indies in 1837*, by STURGE and HARVEY, had been sent out to me, and I had much satisfaction in perusing their work. On returning home, I found that the public had welcomed it with great interest; and that the circle of my acquaintance was willing, and many of them desirous, to read more on the same subject; and as my friends' book could not refer to Demerara, from their not having been there; it was natural to think some information from that Colony, would prove interesting. I had however, no manuscript in my possession; but the letters which I had forwarded, had been carefully preserved, and all had come safe to hand. These then, I have revised and improved, with the assistance of my memory. However imperfect they may be, they will, at least, serve as a memento of my visit; and the publication affords me the opportunity of introducing a few Prints from my sketches, which may at least claim the credit of being tolerably correct representations. It is with pleasure I make the acknowledgement, of having taken several of my statistical remarks from R. MONTGOMERY MARTIN's interesting and lucid history of the West Indies. Many doubtless are the faults and imperfections in this little publication; and should

these be pointed out to me, in a spirit of kindness, that kindness shall be felt and acknowledged ; but should the critics' darts fall thick and envenomed upon me, the remembrance of the following sentiment and accompanying advice, may enable me to sustain them.

“ Severe ourselves, at last our works appear,
When ah ! we find our readers more severe.”

“ *Æquam memento rebus in arduis servare mentem.*”

DIRECTIONS FOR PLACING PLATES, ET CET.

Map to face the Title Page.

PAGE 19. ✓

Entrance to Demerara River; the Building on the extreme left is the back of Camp House, the Governor's residence.

PAGE 23. ✓

London Missionary Society's Chapel—Boys' School Room—and Minister's Residence over it, George Town; also, London Missionary Society's Chapel, and Infant School Room; this is a side view of the same Chapel, one entrance to which is represented in the previous plate.

PAGE 32. ✓

Public Buildings, George Town—Demerara.

PAGE 46. ✓

Main Street, South Cuminsburg, George Town.

PAGE 56. ✓

Residences in South Cuminsburg, George Town.

PAGE 68. ✓

New Amsterdam—Crab Island—and Berbice River; the Public Buildings of Berbice are exhibited in this Print.

PAGE 80. ✓

New Amsterdam looking up Berbice River; the houses stand so far back, it was impossible to sketch more than one without being opposite to them.

PAGE 136. ✓

The Town, Harbour, and Island of St. Thomas. The elevated building like a Church to the right, was formerly the residence of a Buccaneer, named Blue Beard; this drawing was taken too hastily for the whole of the Town to be correctly sketched.

PAGE 170. ✓

Baptist Missionary Station at Yallahs; the service was performed in the Cottage to the right, previous to the erection of the New Chapel—the New School House is behind the centre tree.

PAGE 184. ✓

Chapel on the Belvidero Estate, built by the Apprentices.

CONTENTS.

LETTER I.

Embark at Falmouth—Extracts from Sea Journal—Arrival at Barbadoes. ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ *Page 1.*

LETTER II.

Remarks on Barbadoes—Visit to the House of Assembly and Gaol. ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ *Page 10.*

LETTER III.

Departure for Demerara—Arrival there. ~ ~ ~ *Page 19.*

LETTER IV.

Description of George Town—Elucidations of the Apprenticeship System. ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ *Page 32.*

LETTER V.

Observations on Missionary Services—And on a Sugar Estate. ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ *Page 46.*

LETTER VI.

Visit to New Amsterdam Berbice River—Occurrences there. *Page 61.*

LETTER VII.

Continuation of Proceedings at New Amsterdam—W. Lloyd leaves J. Scoble to pursue his Investigations—Sails for George Town and Barbadoes. ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ *Page 80.*

LETTER VIII.

Incidents at Barbadoes—Proceeds in the Northern Mail Boat to St. Thomas's—Arrival there—Sails for Santa Cruz. *Page 101.*

LETTER IX.

Description of Santa Cruz—Allusions to American Invalids. ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ *Page 120.*

LETTER X.

Leaves Santa Cruz for St. Thomas's—St. Thomas for Jamaica—Pleasant Voyage—Meets his friends Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey in Kingston. ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ Page 137.

LETTER XI.

Various Occurrences during a few days tarriance at Kingston. ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ Page 155.

LETTER XII.

Accompanies T. H. on a visit to St. Thomas in the East, et cet. ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ Page 171.

LETTER XIII.

Continuation of the Journey—Various Incidents—Return to Kingston. ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ Page 191.

LETTER XIV.

Excursion into the Port Royal Mountains—also to Spanish Town and Sligo Ville. ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ Page 215.

LETTER XV.

Embarks from Jamaica—Arrival at New York, with Remarks thereon. ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ Page 238.

APPENDIX. ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ Page 275 to 263. 50

ERRATA.

Page 11, line 14, read four-and-a-half.

Page 16, line 11, omit *as*.

Page 32, line 5, for torough read *thorough*.

Page 33, line 13, for 66° read 6° 10'.

Page 33, line 16, omit *and*.

Page 84, last line, for their accord, read *their own accord*.

Page 114, last line, for embark, read *disembark*.

Page 150, line 12, for *by the*, read *for the*.

Page 224, line 14, for twenty feet, read *twenty feet high*.

Page 238, line 3, for debarked, read *embarked*.

LETTER I.

Barbadoes, 11th. Month, 13th., 1836.

MY DEAR F——R.

WE landed here after a favourable voyage of twenty-six days, having passed the *Nightingale* Mail packet, which left Falmouth a fortnight before us. In order that thou mayest picture our embarkation and debarkation, I will copy for thy perusal from my sea journal the first and two last dates.

10th. Month, 17th.

At a quarter to twelve, A. M. we left the harbour of Falmouth, on board the Mail Barque, *Skylark*, Captain Lieut. LADD, bound to Barbadoes. Our party were JOSEPH STURGE and myself, of Birmingham; JOHN SCOBLE, of London, and THOMAS HARVEY, of Barnsley. We were accompanied to the ship by my brother-in-law, ALFRED FOX, JOHN STURGE, and BARCLAY FOX. The demand of the boatmen was half a guinea each, an excessive charge, allowed by the rules of the port. We had been on board two hours, when our Captain arrived in his cocked hat and uniform with the Mails: we had occupied the time in making acquaintance with the

ship, and I cannot say our first ascent upon deck, and descent into the cabin were gratifying; the bulwarks were forbiddingly high, the deck was wet, the top of the cabin lights was covered with meat in its recently slaughtered state; joints being also hung around in various parts of the vessel, interspersed with cauliflowers, cabbages, and turnips, an abundant provision, but unpleasant to the sight, as we were already squeamish from the rolling of the ship, though at anchor. In the cabin it was impossible to stand upright from the low ceiling: there were berths only for twelve, whereas there were fifteen gentlemen and three ladies. The quarter deck was level with the main deck, and no view over the bulwarks except by mounting on the gangways, or on the poop, which having no defence at the sides was evidently not intended for much perambulation; the whole had a prison like effect. We learnt that our *Skylark* was an old ten gun barque, a kind of vessel disliked by all navigators for its inconvenience; there are now but few in the service, and I believe the new Mail packets are elegant and convenient. We set to work getting our moveables placed into our berths, and made light of petty inconveniences. We cordially bid our friends adieu; they returned in the boat, and the hoisting of sail began: our sailing master took his station upon the poop, and gave his orders with the utmost volubility; which, conjoined with the ready willingness and

alertness of the crew, gave the impression that master and man were fully competent to the working of the ship ; the sails being set and the wind favourable, we quickly left St. Mawes and Pendennis castles frowning on either hand, and reached the open sea. The sun broke out, and we could descry every well known object with the greatest ease ; it was an hour of sombre enjoyment, in which the light despondency of leaving home, was mingled with a thought of thankfulness at having many favourable auspices inviting us onward. Pendennis castle and Wodehouse-place faded from our view ; then the light houses at the Land's End : the motion of the vessel increased ; we took no notice either of the dinner or tea bell, and ere the evening came, were all ill and prostrate in our berths.

11th. Month, 12th.

We have now been at sea rather more than three weeks, and yesterday evening our sailing master informed us we should see land this morning by eight o'clock. I rose early not being able to sleep from the excessive heat, and witnessed a beautiful sun-rise. Both the rising and setting of the sun are more mellowed than in England, the colours change more rapidly ; and before the rays are quite extinct in the west, the stars are visible ; the duration of twilight not being more than twenty minutes ; at least after that lapse of time one cannot read a book.

At eight o'clock "Land O," was shouted from

the mast head, and after breakfast it was visible from the deck; which proved the truth of the master's reckoning, and he had praise from all at being so successful in his land fall. The sight was cheering, and occasioned great bustle, as we expected to land; but the breeze dying away we soon saw we should be disappointed.

The coast though not mountainous, was elevated and picturesque, as we looked upon the hilly part of the island called Scotland. The heat was oppressive; being 85° in our cabin: and we have suffered most by night, owing to the number of passengers. During the day the awning protects from the sun, but our nights are sad, from the sky-lights being closed; the passengers who sleep on the table, on the benches, and on the floor, are afraid of cold from the night air; we in our berths are therefore melted, and by morning really gasping for breath. No Captain should take more passengers than he can comfortably accommodate, and especially through the tropics, where it becomes a most serious inconvenience. Our party appeared to suffer less than the West Indians, which I attributed to our Temperance habits: they who had drunk wine daily, complained of head ache and other feverish symptoms. On the whole we have had a pleasant voyage, though our Captain quarrelled three successive days with his sailing Master, who was at last put in arrest, and we had to beg him off from a Court Martial.

On entering the tropics, Neptune paid his usual visit, to demand his tribute for the enrolment of his new children and to shave poor sailor boys; and it was a day of much hilarity for the crew. Neptune is a cunning deity, his dominion extends twenty-five degrees on each side of the line; and entering the tropics does not make his children wholly free, as when they cross the line they must pay again.

13th. Yesterday wore away, and afforded us considerable pleasure in approaching the land; but the breeze dying away, we soon gave up the idea of landing by day light. We had a lunch yesterday and to-day, instead of regular dinners, by which means we escaped earlier from the hot cabin. It is a trial to be long at dinner when one is panting for breath: the right plan would be to dine off one dish, and then away; whereas we have soup, — then a wait for fish, — then a long wait for a course of meat, — then a tedious wait for a course of pastry, — then a tiresome wait for the dessert; and long before that is finished, we are wiping our foreheads: in fact the greater part of our company have left the table the last few days before the dinner was over. There is some temptation to eat and drink too much at sea; we have coffee at six A.M.; breakfast at eight; lunch at twelve; dinner at four; coffee immediately after; tea at seven; and supper at nine: happily however there is no compulsion to partake of all.

To-day we watched the land till sun-set, and

having a young moon, it aided us to observe our progress, and to see our course, for there is no light house on the south point of the Island round which we had to turn for Carlisle Bay, and into which we entered and cast anchor at half-past ten, P. M. A shout of congratulation escaped from our company, when the cessation of noise proved the anchor had found its rest, and much bustle ensued. Some would go ashore that instant; Captain LADD, with his cocked hat and sword, hastened to pay his devoirs, as in duty bound, to his superior officer, the Captain of the *Belvidere* Frigate, then in the harbour, and which had been stationed there for some months. The rest of us turned into our ovens for the last stewing, endeavouring to woo a little hot sleep: this was soon disturbed by our Captain's return, who brought word that a fever was raging at Bridge Town; and this at once deranged our plan, as JOSEPH STURGE quickly decided it would be best not to stay in Barbadoes. This morning I rose early, the dawn commenced, and I gazed with vivid interest upon the first tropical shore I had ever beheld. I soon discovered the cabbage tree, (*Palma Altissima*) and cocoa nut, (*Cocos Nucifera*.) The richness of their green huge pendent leaves burst upon my sight; every thing had a foreign aspect; and our introduction into a southern clime was at once evident.

The purple azure of sun-rise was again glorious; the evidence of Negro inhabitants was before

us ; boats came from two different hotels with black rowers, each with a Negro woman as steerer, to deliver their cards of recommendation. The women came on board and politely invited us to the shore. We had previously made up our minds to go to one of the most retired, and therefore took the cards of H. Lewis, who had been recommended as very respectable, and her house being upon the shore made it desirable. We were now about to reach the shore, and had for a length of time the evening before endeavoured to discern it, but the moon set, and except a few solitary lights, we saw nothing of the land when the anchor was let go ; but we had been much pleased with the phosphorescence of the ocean during the heaving of the lead, which had been kept going all the evening ; a circle of light marked the place where it fell, and when the lead was pulled up, there was a line of glowing light followed the line as it cut through the water : we had also a few days earlier, the opportunity of seeing a flying fish which came on board. The sea was now behind, and the land drew us with strong attractions ; and after the adieus, good wishes, et ceteras, of a large party breaking up, we set off with four black rowers, and our Negro woman to steer us. We soon landed, and reached the inn about nine.

How new every thing appeared ! the jet black of the Negros contrasted strangely with the gay livery of the vegetation in a tropical climate. The

houses are low in Bridge Town ; many windows are without glass, but with jalousies to exclude the sun ; there are no chimneys, and the houses are covered with shingles, about the size of tiles. By this time the sun was again hot ; we heard alarming accounts of the fever, but could not think much about it, amidst so many novelties. The inn had an untidy appearance ; no floor or stair carpets, unpapered rooms, and very common furniture ; however we made ourselves at home, and as it was the Sabbath day, we went in the evening to the Methodist Chapel : a more orderly congregation I never saw ; some were Creoles, fair as Europeans, others black in white dresses ; the singing was louder than in England, from the very powerful voices of the Negros. After the meeting, we were introduced to the Minister, with whom we had some interesting conversation.

14th. Before breakfast, we rode a few miles into the country, and called upon a Moravian Minister, who gave a melancholy account of the fatality amongst children under the new laws, partly from an epidemic, the measles, but chiefly from the mothers being forced away from their infant charge to work in the cane fields ; he had an infant school under his care, and it was pleasing to see some children sitting upon the steps, though the school would not open for an hour. From this Missionary station there is a fine view of Carlisle Bay, Bridge Town, and the surrounding country. We were much interested in the cane

fields; they had now thrown up their flowering stems, and would be ready to cut next month: the canes stood so thick and close we could not see far into the fields, and were upwards of six feet high. We saw several gangs at work; and patiently and steadily they appeared to use their hoes; one could not help pitying them, knowing it was forced labour. The Negro huts we saw were very mean, much like Irish cabins, but larger, and with a loose overhanging thatch. A stranger here soon witnesses the civility and becoming behaviour of the Negroes, and then wonders how the Whites have had resolution to be Slaveholders. We were told that the Slaves were grateful for the freedom of their children, and there has not been an instance of the parents' binding them apprentices.

The Island is at this time green, but has a naked appearance, from having no woods, the tropical trees being isolated. I am somewhat incommoded by the heat, but there is much that is animating in a tropical climate, and the respect from the Negroes, and their inoffensive behaviour, make us feel perfectly at home, as regards safety. I had rather have one hundred Slaves round me than be in the company of one overbearing Planter.

I remain, &c.

LETTER II.



Barbadoes, 11th Month, 16th, 1836.

MY DEAR F——R.

OUR party lately crowded and inconvenienced on board the *Skylark* packet, has now finally separated, each to pursue their respective objects. We had for companions during our voyage, three gentlemen from Trinidad, two from St. Thomas, one from St. Vincent, another from Jamaica, and from Barbadoes a physician of some eminence. They soon became acquainted with our views and motives, and we heard much in their conversation to interest us; and notwithstanding dissatisfaction expressed at the change of events, it was evident that their pockets had been comfortably assisted by the compensation money, and that estates and property in general were rapidly advancing in value. According to our new arrangement, J. SCOBLE and myself proceed to Demarara; and J. STURGE and T. HARVEY are now on their way to Antigua, having embarked in the Mail boat on the 14th. There are four or five of these Mail boats which start the day after the arrival of the Falmouth

packet for the different Islands ; and the steam-boat for Jamaica sails on the day of arrival ; in this way letters are quickly forwarded to their destination, and passengers to their respective homes.

Barbadoes is twenty-one miles long by fourteen broad, and is interesting from its being the oldest British Colony. The English took possession of it in 1605 ; there were no inhabitants, having been deserted, as is supposed, by the Caribs. In 1627 it was patented by Charles I. to the Earl of Carlisle : this patent was afterwards surrendered by the Earl of Kinnaird, heir to the Carlisle charter, on a payment to him of four-and-a-per cent. duty on all exports : the duty still continues, and is a great annoyance to the Planters. It is now in possession of the Crown ; and from the high state of cultivation of the Island and valuable exports, realizes a large sum. I cannot speak as to its expenditure, though I believe the Governor's salary is paid out of it.

A Scotch brig, the *Harmony*, having called at Bridge Town on its way to Demarara, there was no necessity for our hurrying away by the Mail boat, and it has enabled J. SCOBLE and myself to become a little acquainted with the town.

The population of Bridge Town is said to be 30,000, that of the whole Island 115,709 ; thus divided, 82,807 apprentices, 20,105 free coloured, 12,797 whites. The Island is known to be more

thickly peopled than even the "Celestial Empire;" yet, owing to its systematic culture, it is enabled to support its inhabitants and export to a large amount.

All strangers on their arrival are expected to pay their respects to the Governor, and if not at home, they enter their names in a book kept for the purpose. The present Governor is Sir EVAN JOHN MURRAY M'GREGOR, who succeeded Sir LIONEL SMITH: his Governorship includes Barbadoes, Grenada, St. Vincent's, and Tobago. We embraced an early opportunity, and rode up to Pilgrim House, but had not the satisfaction of seeing the Governor; the house stands pleasantly in a park, on an eminence, one mile from the town; and owing to late rains, the tropical shrubs were luxuriant in their foliage, and the grounds were very ornamental. It was pleasing to see, under so hot a sun, the vegetation unfaded and green; and as the cane fields were uncut, the scenery was in perfection. I observe little difference as to temperature in the tropics; the range of the thermometer being between 74° and 86° at the present season;* but the periodical rains divide the months into wet and dry; the principal rains fall in the 7th, 8th and 9th months, after which the canes rapidly advance to perfection; the harvest commencing in the 12th month,

* This temperature does not apply to the mountains in Jamaica, &c. R. M. Martin gives a greater range from 72° to 90° . I was not there in the hottest months.

and continuing for several in succession. During the harvest months there are also some showers, which enable the young cane plants to strike root. Each plant is two or three joints off the top of the ripe cane. They are planted in rows, the plants very near each other, but the rows nearly two feet apart, to admit of hoeing and cleaning. The thick ripe cane must be planted when there are not sufficient tops, and hence a reduction of the produce of sugar on an estate.

We afterwards visited the House of Assembly, which commenced its sittings this week. The Council consists of twelve; the House of Assembly of twenty-two Members; but twelve form a quorum. It was advertised to meet at ten A. M. As no Members had arrived at that hour we employed ourselves in looking at the gaol, the wards of which are under the Assembly House: as J. S. intends to transmit particular details, I shall not fully describe the horrors of this barbarous prison. The wards formed the basement of the building on each side; a passage running from end to end, and one was devoted to men prisoners waiting their trial. The door was unlocked for us, and we went in. They were much crowded, and had no accommodation for the night, except a stone seat, which extended round the room three feet in height; and here they might remain for months, from not being brought to the bar; or their trials being delayed for want of witnesses, several months elapsing between the meetings of the

Assize Court. Those who had been tried were at the tread wheel, or in the yard, breaking stones. The task seemed heavy, thirty baskets per day, with only an abatement of four for women. This stone breaking was a subject of controversy in the papers, and no wonder, for the stones were described as being hard and refractory, and the hammers as soft : and their night accommodation was the same, crowded together, with nothing to sit or lie on but the stone bench or floor. There was one apartment for the men, and one for the women ; that for the men was about twenty feet by twenty-five, and into this confined hole, a large number of human beings were crowded every night. We saw the dinner for those in the untried ward served up ; it appeared to be simple yam, without salt fish or meat. The women are treated in a similar manner, in a similar darksome room.

We walked over to the tread wheel on one side of the yard, and saw it in full operation ; it was literally a breaking on the wheel. Men were stationed above, holding the womens' arms over a bar : several lost the step, and were catted on their naked backs and legs, but being too weak could not regain the wheel, and dangled ; their shins were broken by its revolution ; blood besprinkled the steps ; and when the ten minutes spell was up, and their arms were loosed, two in particular dropt as if shot : they were insensible for awhile to the call of the driver, and when able

to crawl to their resting shed, they again lay down moaning in agony. I examined the arm of one of them, and found it much bruised by the rail; the whole scene was so shocking, that I could scarcely credit what I had witnessed. One party being off, another of men or women is put on, and so the wheel goes round from morn to night, and without any profitable return; for there is no machinery attached to it. This outrage on humanity was in sight from the House of Assembly where the legislators were assembling. At a quarter to one, sufficient were present to form a house. A long Police Act was read and passed, (*nemine contradicente*;) not one observation was made upon it, it was a burlesque on legislation, for the Bill comprised matters of great moment to the Negroes; but the scenes which were transacting close by, were no burlesque on human suffering. We left, convinced that the friends of the Negro need not be afraid of doing too much. As yet I had seen nothing in the system of Apprenticeship which would bear the light of investigation. We have had some opportunity of observing the Negro's character, and see nothing to warrant the assertion, that he is idle and lazy, and requires compulsion and cruelty to make him labour. I have never seen greater activity than on the wharfs here; and the competition to hire their services reminds one of the Thames watermen. The Negro features are to me disagreeable, and their "talke, talke,"

a most unintelligible lingo ; yet their behaviour is most orderly and respectful, free from impertinence or begging, and if they were whites, their respectful behaviour would become a theme for praise. They have a risible propensity; and on looking at them, they frequently return it with a smile : how preferable this is to the tiresome clamour of European beggars. I have walked through the town, and about the outskirts, and there is much less to annoy than in many of our public streets. The back streets here are as much superior to the liberties of Dublin, having an appearance of cleanliness and neatness.

The Apprenticeship is yet adding another proof of the patience of the Negro, of the unchristian nature of Slavery, and of the cruelty of the whole system, from the ceaseless persecutions of the poor Blacks, whilst they remain in the power of others.

My attention has been drawn to the stillness of a tropical noon-day, and to the rising music of the evening. One can see nothing, yet every step, when walking out about sun-set, seems to be in the midst of chirping crickets and other insects ; it is a concert of invisibles, welcoming the coolness and darkness of the night, and almost loud enough to interrupt conversation ; this is quite a contrast to the cawing rooks and screaming jays of an English noon, and the peaceful stillness of rural evening scenes in England. We have been introduced by Lieut. LADD

to J. PRESCOD, at present editor of the *New Times*, a liberal paper ; he is a coloured * gentleman, liberally educated, and resides at the edge of the town, in an elegant cottage. He gave us much interesting information, dwelling forcibly on the disabilities of the free coloured inhabitants of Bridge Town.† We thought we had seldom met with more refinement and intelligence ; he is happily married, has no distinguishing marks of negro complexion, and in England he would be esteemed as a gentleman, whilst in Barbadoes he is in some degree despised as a coloured man.

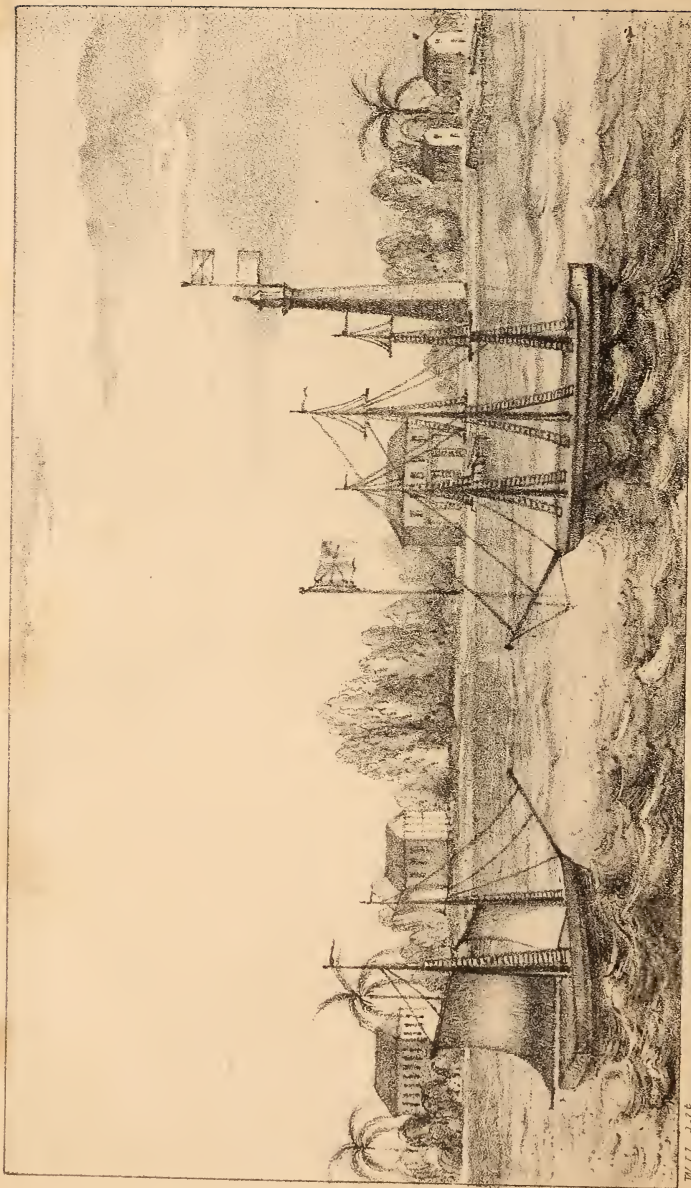
Our waiter at the hotel possesses considerable information ; he is a married man, and his mistress allows him a certain sum per week to maintain his wife and family. He mentioned to us an imposition which had been practised on domestics, thus ; their owners finding that emancipation must take place, from the tenour of the news from England, thought, in addition to the compensation money, they could obtain more from their slaves ; so they told them that freedom was very uncertain, that the bill might be thrown out, but if they would pay so much every year for four years, they should be free : this they complied with, and so were purchasing their freedom ; whereas they

* The word colour is applied to all African descendents, however remote.

† The qualification for coloured freeholders is freehold property, of the annual value of thirty pounds ; that for white electors, ten pounds.

would be free quite as soon by the Imperial Act of Parliament, which was shortly after sanctioned by the Island. I could scarcely credit that such mean ingenuity would be attempted, and have simply told it as it was related. Captain LADD has been very attentive to us, and we have been able to take considerable exercise under the shade of umbrellas. The streets in Bridge Town are white sand, and the reflection of light so strong, it is difficult to open our eyes. One species of Cactus (*Cactus opuntia*) here is quite a weed, flourishing in every vacant corner. The stores are large and airy, and are protected from the sun by piazzas, which reach from the second floor to the roof; they extend over the foot ways, and being jalousied, admit the air freely, and form pleasant sitting compartments, and when neatly painted have a picturesque appearance. We hope to sail this evening for Demerara, and in the mean time,

I remain, &c.



W.L.L. del.

T. Chubbwood, sculp.

LETTER III.



George Town, (Stabroek) Demerara, 11th Mo., 23rd, 1836.

MY DEAR F——R.

As the Mail boat is about to return to Barbadoes, I hasten to inform thee that we arrived here in safety, after a somewhat tedious sail of six days; the distance is about three hundred and fifty miles. We were five passengers, with a pleasant Captain; and there was luxury in having plenty of room. One of our company was a Planter from Antigua, on a visit to Demerara, with some intention of settling there. The fertility of the soil, and the flourishing state of the Colony, make it a point of attraction at the present time. Another was W * * *, our fellow passenger, from Falmouth, who had been in Demerara before. His description of the place was “the land of mud and musquitoes;” and of the large musquitoes, called Gally Nippers, he told startling tales. There are several species, a small kind with black and white legs, infesting the houses, and the larger ones common to the woods. We were one Sabbath at sea, and though orderly and quietly spent, I could not but recur to those we

had passed on board the *Skylark* packet ; where, according to the rules of the British naval service, the crew, in clean dresses, are assembled on the quarter deck, flags are hung round to enclose it for a chapel, and the Captain then reads prayers, and a printed sermon. Lieutenant LADD would not allow one of his men to be absent ; it must have a beneficial effect on the minds of the crew. They know there is a care extended to them ; whereas on most merchant vessels little attention is paid to their Sabbath appearance, as though wholly neglected by their Captain.

One Sabbath, on the *Skylark* packet, we had a striking contrast. After the prayers, &c., the rules of war were read, and they ill assimilated to the peaceful precepts of the Gospel. It is the regulation of the service for these rules to be read once a month.

At sea the attention is particularly awakened, and voyagers are always looking out for incidents, for ships, for changes in the heavens above, and seas beneath, for birds and fishes, &c., &c. : we had not many in this short passage. The tropical sea birds, (boobies,) so named from their habit of settling on the rigging, and allowing themselves to be caught, were frequently around us. One was taken in this manner, and was to be added to my collection, but it escaped in the night, and thus falsified its name. Land birds frequently rest on ships ; on coming out skylarks were caught on our vessel, several hundred miles

from the coast of Spain ; they were reduced to mere skeletons. Birds are blown off by the wind, and then are unable to regain the shore ; I have no doubt from this cause many perish in the sea. Our cook also caught three bonetos ; the bait was red rag on a hook. They are not unlike to salmon in their form. This fish is not esteemed, but we found them tolerably good eating. They do not swim in the wake of a vessel, but under the bows, as if to amuse themselves with the spray and uproar. But the most pleasing tropical attendant was one of the large gaudy butterflies, which visited us thirty miles from the shore ; its call was short, as if disliking our appearance, and as if in search of more flowery existences. We did not suffer from the heat, the thermometer being lower than at Bridge Town ; in our cabin it stood at 81°, and we are now seasoned to this.

A black pilot met us at sea long before we saw land, for it is low and muddy ; the river is therefore difficult to enter. What we first observed was the sea becoming discoloured, then in the distance a low continuous line of green marking the beach, next the taller palms, as cocoa nuts and cabbage trees. In a short time this green shore extended far over the horizon, and became distinct, with here and there a plantation house, and smoke ascending from the tall engine chimney, or from the boiling house : the appearance conveys the idea of inexhaustible fertility, and has a character solely its own. We approached at

noon, and the hot tropical sun, the cloudless skies around, the horizon of verdant green, and the sea muddy and discoloured, formed a picture not to be erased from memory. Our pilot was an old man, a Kroo, kidnapped when a boy. He said he was too old to care for being free; and therefore content as an apprentice. He had been five days out waiting for a vessel. Here again was food for reflection. This poor despised Black, denounced as idle, dissolute, and incapable of caring for his own person, is sent as a pilot to bring the rich merchantman into port; nay, her Majesty's proudest Admiral, with his seventy-four first rate, would yield to his experience, and for a time be subject to his direction; and yet after skilfully conducting through a difficult navigation a ship into port, the reward of that labour goes to a white man, who perhaps cannot take a boat across the stream.* After crossing the bar we quickly came to anchorage, opposite the lighthouse, at the mouth of the river; vessels not being allowed to enter till visited by the Harbour Master. It was evidently a port of large commerce, for the wide river was crowded with ships; we were not detained long,

* As a proof that skill is requisite, we passed near to the wreck of a vessel; the masts are alone visible. This ship some time before was leaving the port with a full cargo, and went down into the mud, and the naked masts now serve as a buoy to guard the unwary. Negros in the Colonies are of various tribes, as Mandingoes, Coro-

and soon after accompanied the Captain in his gig to the shore. No sable apprentices from the hotels came off with their cards of invitation as at Bridge Town; and this was accounted for by the fact, that though a town of 12,000* inhabitants, there is not an hotel in the place. I believe the Temperance Society cannot have the credit of this. The cause simply is, there has been no necessity; Planters who come to town from the country, have their agents, who hospitably entertain them; others are accommodated by store keepers or residents to whom they may be introduced; and two or three boarding houses have generally been sufficient to supply the wants of casual visitors.

On nearing the wharf, the stores, we observed, were built upon piles, each having a wooden pier jutting into the river. These piers are called stellings, and have boat room at their sides. I thought of Venice, but drop the comparison, never having seen that ancient city, whose gorgeous churches and magnificent palaces I imagine will never have their similitudes in "George Town, Demarara." On landing we walked to

mantees, Whydaws, Eboes, Congas, and Angolæes. The Mandingoes have the most intelligence: many of them read Arabic, and are Mahomedans. The Coromantees are the most ferocious, and the Eboes the most timid and desponding

* This includes the free coloured, and apprentices; the whites did not number two thousand at the last census, ten years since.

D—— Thomas's boarding house, which had been recommended to us. She was not at home; and we learned that her house was full, having some visitors from Berbice; we made their acquaintance, and took some refreshment, and towards evening came off to our ship, where we took up our night's lodging. We found some difficulty in effecting this, and had to learn something of Colonial inconveniences; for in this heritage of the Whites there are no boats to hire, Captains of vessels use their own, and the Negros, as yet have none to let out. We engaged a pilot boat; there was a barge, and another small boat at the stelling; the ebb tide was running very strong; some confusion arose as to who should take charge of the boat; at this juncture the Captain's gig came by, and we were soon comfortably seated in the cabin of the *Harmony*. Our minds were depressed and thankful—depressed at witnessing a serious accident. A Negro had charge of the small boat, which became jammed between the barge and pilot boat; the crush lifted it, and turned it on one side. The poor man in endeavouring to escape, became wedged between the two boats across the middle of his body, and when released was unable to stand. We were thankful at escaping a night's exposure in the muddy bay; for the Captain assured us we should not have made his ship; there was no wind to fill a sail, and the pilot boat having no oars, the current would soon have swept us far down the

river : and this appeared probable, as we thought we had not engaged the proper crew, but some men standing by, who wished the opportunity of making money. I was not able to trace the poor man, for next morning all the boats were gone ; the stelling was clear of people, and I knew not where to inquire.

25th. We are not yet settled down ; but D. Thomas expecting daily to have beds at liberty, we have taken our meals at her table ; at which there are some conversible Planters, and making allowances for their peculiar opinions, I may say intelligent. The conversations have been maintained with spirit ; and yesterday evening, J. SCOBLE had a long energetic one with G. C., from Berbice, which was continued so late, we could not go to the *Harmony* ; this led to a slight adventure, our hostess having to contrive for us. She said she had let the adjoining house to a Catholic Priest ; that he was gone from home, and we might be accommodated in his spare room, especially as he was not expected back that night. We took possession of the spare bed, a poor couch without musquito curtains ; and instead of sleeping, had to buffet those teasing trumpeters. Unfortunately at midnight, the priest came home. We, the intruders, lay still, for there was only a thin partition between the two rooms. At length tired of silence and the musquitoes, some time in the night we began to talk, when the Priest heard us, jumped up, ran down stairs to his

man, called to know if his horse was safe, came to bed again, and again jumped up, stamping till the house shook! Besides this there was occasionally heavy tropical rain on the shingles, which sounded like falling bullets; and in the street there was the most discordant piercing yells and shoutings. When morning broke I arose, apologised to the priest, assuring him of our respectability. He was very glum; said his landlady charged him £15 currency, per month, for his apartments, and then gave his bed away, and he could not submit to it. As D. T. is a Catholic, I doubted not the difference would easily be rectified; yes, more easily than our musquitoe bites: two of my fingers are much swollen, and my ankles so irritated, it is impossible to help scratching. At breakfast time I learnt the uproar in the street, (if that may be so called, which has a water course in the middle, and high lank grass at the sides,) arose from a ball; and a ball, from the palmy days of Slavery, has been a time when the Negros might revel, as a set off to the hauteur usually observed towards them. They are at such a time almost upon an equality with their masters. They are allowed to go into the house, congregate on the stairs; the dancing room is the only forbidden ground; their observations are made upon the dresses and every individual, and ever and anon their deafening choruses sound wildly and piercingly through the still night air, expressive

of their delight and gratification at the changing scene.

26th. Demerara customs are very different from English, and do not meet my ideas of comfort. The domestic apprentices live in huts in the yard; some come in with their children to cook, and others to dust the sitting rooms. During the day there are pickaninnies trotting about, or lying down in the drawing room, whilst their mothers are doing the work. The table customs do not suit me; no breakfast to be had (excepting a small cup of coffee sent up to one's bed-room) till near ten, after which the sun is so hot, it is exhausting to go out; dinner is served at five, and no tea or supper after, as the fire is then put out, and the domestics go home. Thus one becomes a prisoner, with two meals per diem; for walking, to any extent, is impossible in the noon-day, and there are neither horses nor carriages to be hired; all who are able keeping their own, and there are plenty of these private equipages rolling along; and the gay gigs, phætons, and cars, contrast strikingly with naked children, which are now and then seen in the streets, and the almost naked apprentices and Indians; most of the former, and all of the latter, having only a girdle around them. The terms for boarding, are three dollars per diem, not including wine.

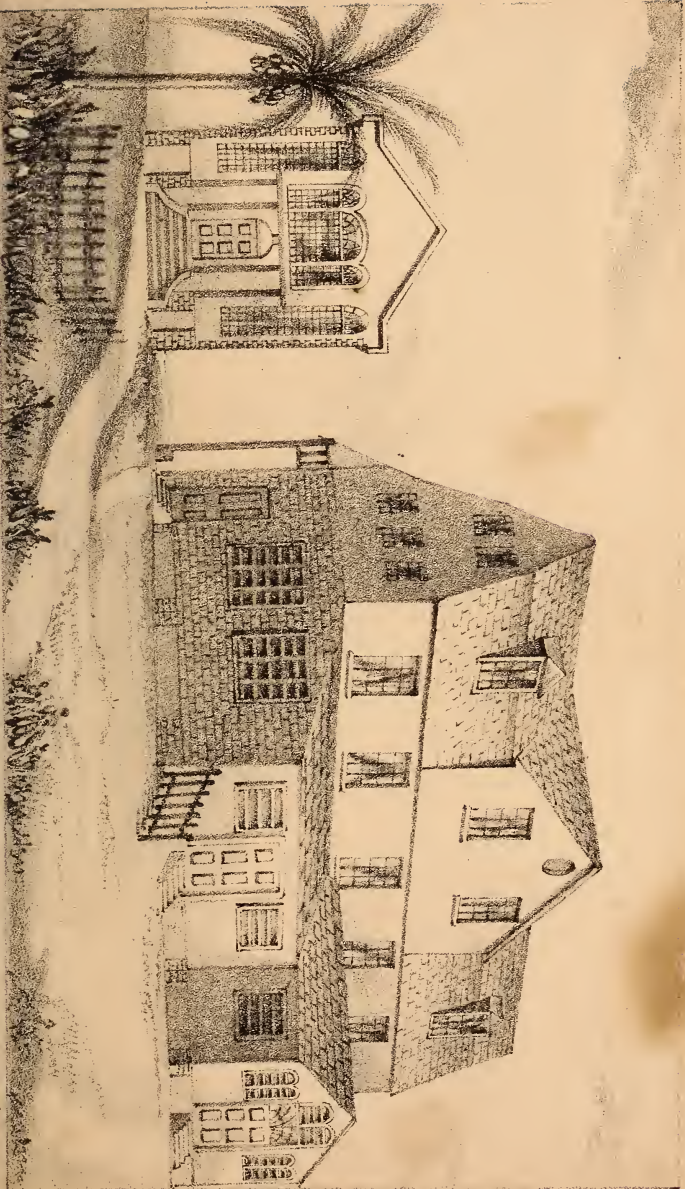
We have reported ourselves at the strangers' office, in the public buildings, according to

law ; this is done that a trifling tax may be levied on every one arriving, and if such intend to reside in the colony a larger sum, amounting to several dollars, is demanded ; and no one can leave the colony without buying a passport, and to procure this, his name must be advertised in the Royal Gazette for six weeks, or he must find two satisfactory securities ; this is intended to prevent debtors running away.

We called upon the Governor, Sir JAMES CARMICHAEL SMYTH ; he is a tall portly man, has been here two years, at first he was coolly treated, but the planters having won him measurably to their views, he is becoming a favourite.

Last evening we delivered a letter of introduction to J. KETLEY, Minister of the Independent Missionary Chapel. On our way we stepped into one of the Methodist Missionary Chapels ; service was going on, the congregation was large for a week day, and most quiet ; and J. S. said the singing was superior to that in England. The singers (Negros) were in a gallery, and after the service was concluded, they sang whilst the company withdrew ; the effect was pleasing. We had interesting conversation with J. KETLEY ; he lives in apartments over the old Missionary Chapel, which is now a boys' school room, having lately erected a large, convenient, and elegant Chapel adjoining. His wife is much engaged with her young family ; but a widowed sister residing there, whose husband was a Mis-

17. 11. 1841



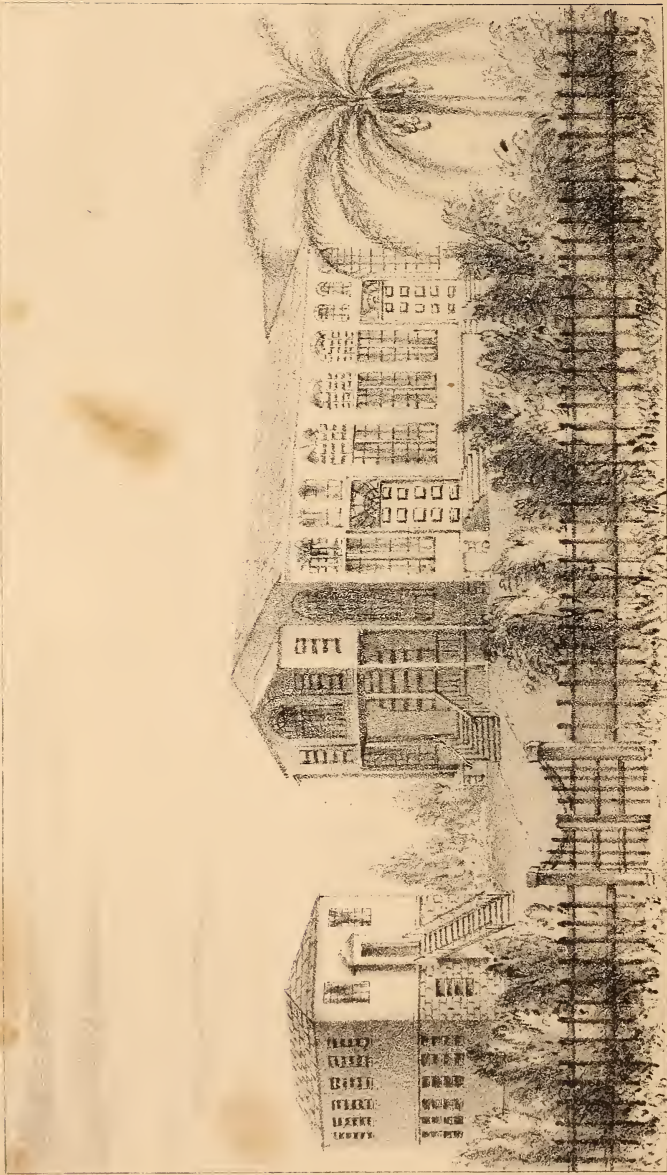




T. Underwood. Lith.

W.L.L. del.

London Missionary Society's Chapel & Infant School, George Town.



sionary, devotes herself to benevolence, visiting the sick on the estates, et cet., which in this climate is a great exertion, without the convenience of a vehicle. J. KETLEY has also established an Infant School, the first in the Colony; and for which Lady SMYTH has shown considerable interest, as also for the Bible Society. How cheering is the company of devoted Missionaries; their speaking and treatment of the Negros as human beings is as cordial to my mind; whilst the conversation of Planters is harsh and grating: these never speak of Negros as any thing more than goods and chattels, defend their right to this property, and cannot broach any interference. At our lodgings we have had abundance of conversation on these grounds with the Berbice Planters, but they do not quarrel with the compensation money: the twenty millions has evidently pleased them. G. C. says he received fourteen thousand pounds compensation money, and that the British nation was gulled; that they only held their slaves by sufferance, till the act of registration took place, (this act was passed to prevent the admission of fresh Negros, but it riveted the bonds of West Indian Slaves;) that the Colony would be ruined after 1840; the plantations would become a wilderness, from the drains and culture being neglected, for free Negros would not work and the estates would then be abandoned; and yet said G. C. I have seen traits in the Negro character which brought tears into my eyes. The above

statement, as to ruin, is falsified by one fact, that the Planters themselves are buying property, and increasing their works. There are few Planters who take precautionary measures for the future. The free children on the estates are neglected; and hence an improvident idle race may spring up. If then there should be some confusion, it will be from the Planters' neglect; I do not fear the result. My good opinion is partly founded from seeing them at their places of worship. People who behave so seriously and orderly must be under the influence of their ministers and religion, and will be guided, I doubt not, as their ministers may direct. Now, if in bondage the gospel has had such weight, what will be the case when the free gospel is preached to the captive set free? The minister may then truly say the blessings of the gospel are dispensed to all, because the Governor and governed will be under its influence; whereas now they preach a gospel which is controlled and opposed by those who have assumed the name of Christians, and who pay no attention to the dictate of "do unto others, as you would others should do unto you."

Education is of the highest importance. D. T.'s Negro apprentice, who has waited on us, said he was anxious to learn to read, but his mistress would not let him go to school; yet she is said to be the richest woman in George Town. Slavery is a poison to society, undermining the Christian virtues in the upper classes, who ought

to protect the lower orders. Housekeepers complain how little apprentices will do ; they have no inducement to work. A Scotch lady told J. S. she paid the mistress of her servant £12 per annum, and clothed the girl. She is an apprentice, and let out to her on those terms, having no reward herself. Now her first owner received compensation money, and now receives the whole of the girl's earnings. This is slavery, except the name.

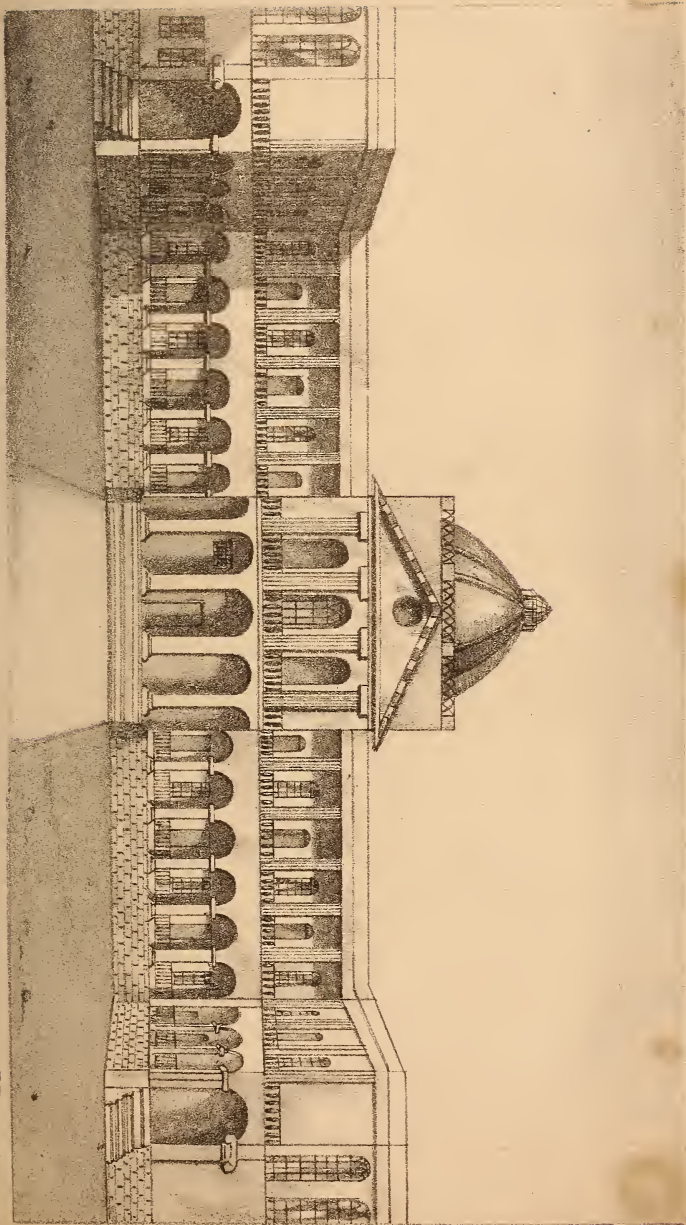
I remain, &c.

LETTER IV.

George Town, Demerara, 12th Month, 4th, 1836.

MY DEAR F——R.

WE have now engaged comfortable lodgings at K. A's, being quite tired of our previous nightly unsettlement. We are becoming familiar with the town, which is very interesting to a European, from its thorough tropical character. British Guiana includes the settlements on the Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice rivers. These were originally Dutch Colonies, which after changing hands at several periods, were again taken possession of by England in 1803, and have been retained from that time. In 1812 the name of the capital was changed from Stabroek to George Town, situated on the Demerara river; it is estimated to contain 12,604 inhabitants,—viz., whites, 1,620; free-black and coloured, 4,368; apprentices, 6,616. The population of the whole district is 100,000;—viz., whites, 6,555; free-coloured, 9,366; apprentices, 84,915; which were determined, under the Emancipation Act, to be of the value of £114 each. Eastward, on the Berbice river, is situated New Amsterdam. There is no town on the banks



W. L. G. 2021

Public Buildings facade Town Demerara

J. Underwood, litho.



of the Essequibo. Demerara is a Crown Colony ; which means that since its conquest it has not been governed on the representative system, returning its House of Assembly, et cet., but by Orders in Council ; the Council continues to possess the form of Government which it had before its conquest. It has the name of the Court of Policy, constituted originally of four Official Members, appointed by the Sovereign, and four from amongst the inhabitants, by the College of Keizers. Since 1831 it has been enlarged to ten members. British Guiana is situated on the main of South America ; latitude $66^{\circ} 10'$ north of the equator. Its soil is alluvial, and believed to be the richest in the world ; in other words inexhaustible. The climate is very rainy, and though generally said to have two wet and two dry seasons ; others think this is arbitrary, and not established by fact, rain at times falling in every month. The course of the river Demerara is from south to north, but the shore extending nearly east and west, the river in its general course is nearly at right angles with it, and is about two miles wide at the mouth. Its waters, and those of the Essequibo, and of the Berbice rivers, are always muddy,—a reddish brown ; and such is the quantity of fresh water and alluvial matters pouring forth, that the waters many miles from shore have the same character. The flowing tide makes no difference in the colour ; and thus the blue sea is never seen from the land. George Town

has increased rapidly since its possession by the British; and from Camp House, at the mouth of the river, to the public buildings, may be two miles, and the town extends farther. The public buildings are magnificent, erected at a cost of £50,000. Except Water-street, which runs near the river, the others are very wide, with one water course down the middle, or with two, one at each side. The first process in this Colony has been to cut large canals from the river, and erect sluices, into which canals the water courses enter; the same plan is followed for a plantation. A main barge canal is cut through the estate, then smaller ones, which falling into it, drain the land, the waters being let out by the sluices when the tide has ebbed. The houses, chiefly of wood, are separate from each other, and the very wide streets, with towering vegetation on every side, give it the character of a town in a tropical Eden. The houses are built upon piles or brick piers, and the ground floor is generally used as a stable, store house, et cet.; the apartments above are shaded by verandahs and jalousies, and are large and elegant. The roads are tolerably good, and great indeed must have been the labour to make them.

The noon day is hot and quiet, as in Barbadoes; but if the evening chirrup there, attracted my attention, well might my ears be astounded by a Guiana evening serenade. As the sun sinks in the west, the water courses appear to be the

abodes of innumerable frogs, differing in speech, but all wonderfully talkative. The frog croaking in England, for a week or two in the spring, is not annoying; but here it rests not, ceases not the live-long year; the effect is compound, the mind rejoices in the hilarity and happiness of animated nature; but when weary, is disappointed, that, after the fatigues of the day, there should not be the "stilly night," to renew exhausted powers. Neither pen or pencil can describe the concert; the prevailing sound is like the word "which," uttered sharply, and this is conjoined with the deep croak of the larger species. But frogs are not alone in the converzationé; crickets and grasshoppers lend their aid; and exactly at six P. M., the rhinoceros beetle, or razor grinder, begins to saw a twig, by fastening on it with its horns, and spinning round it; the sound is like grinding an edge tool, and interested me from the regular time it commenced. "Activity and noise remind us only of this world, but silence and repose lead us to a world to come." Now the fire-flies coruscate through the air, and about and through the trees, in the most effulgent manner. There are several species, some no larger than flies, with the phosphorescence under the wings; others large as beetles, with a lamp on each side of the head. Now, also, old musquitoe bites renew their nightly irritation, and fresh ones are planted. Woe be to the new comer who dares to sit without boots of some kind to protect his ankles, or to sit without gloves on his hands.

All strangers suffer from the irritation of these bites ; they are frequently accompanied with considerable fever, the legs become inflamed and swollen, and the itching so intolerable, that the only resource is to bathe them with Eau de Cologne, or spirits of camphor, and thus change the sensation into a smart ; for scratching quickly produces irritable sores, which are difficult to heal, and cause serious inconvenience. After a time the bites do not inflame, though the enemy is unconquerable.

This alluvial shore is perfectly flat ; there is not the least elevation till we ascend the river twenty-five miles, when sand hills appear. It would have interested me to have seen these, but there is no public conveyance. There are several sawing mill establishments in George Town. The trees on the coast are not much prized, but those at a distance from the river are valuable : as the wallaba, ballo, green and purple heart, and many others. Woodcutters are sent up the river, in an open barge, with a supply of plantains and other provisions, and live in the woods in a rude manner for months together. I have had the offer of such accommodation, but it requires consideration. Round the coast, the trees are neither so many as to variety, or so valuable in quality ; the principal are the mora, the courada, the mangrove, et cet. The residences in town are ornamented with the plantain, the almond, the sea side grape tree, the sand-box tree, but especially

by the cocoa nuts, and cabbage trees. These last are planted in avenues before the houses, and on each side of the road, for miles. They are said to grow two hundred feet high, but are handsomest about sixty or seventy feet; their graceful plumes, their towering spikes, and their lofty stems, at once arrest the attention. The spike is the close sheaths of the unfolded leaves, and interesting it is to see one burst out, and stretching its foliage, as if to woo the sun. At the base of the spike, green shining spathes appear, each enclosing a many flowered spadix. The fruits are berries. From the point where the spathes appear, to the top of the spike, the colour is a beautiful green, and the surface smooth; whilst the trunk below is brown and rough. In the heart of the green part of the stem, the cabbage is contained; I believe it is the incipient leaf. I have eaten of it, and could have mistaken it for the early York; it does not often come to table, as a tree must be cut down to procure it; a sacrifice few will make. The *cocos nucifera* is very distinguishable, the leaves are more straggling, and hence less tufted; the foliage is a lighter green, it has no spike, and the nuts appear at the root of the leaves, many of them in one bunch. I have counted twelve dozen cocoa nuts on a tree, contained in three or four bunches. The ripe nut is seldom eaten here, but when green, esteemed as wholesome and nutritious; the pulp is then soft and can be scooped out. The market here is

abundantly supplied with them; as also with many other fruits; my favourites are the orange, shaddock, and pine apple; especially the shaddock, which has the appearance of a lemon, though very much larger; its flavour is between the lemon and orange; it is also distinguished by the name of forbidden fruit, why, no one can tell; it certainly has not one characteristic of the apple. Pine apples are excellent in flavour, and fourpence each. Fish and poultry are good, but other meats execrable; hard, lean, and stringy, they even resist boiling as regards being made tender.

We paid an early visit to the gaol, the superintendent, P. HORAN, showed us every attention; the regulations are very creditable, when compared with Barbadoes; the tread-mill, however, goes uselessly round and round, not even working a ventilator. Women are placed upon it, but are not flogged: many women are sentenced to break stone; the task is half a ton each per diem; these we saw in an enclosed yard, exposed to the sun; many held their infants in their left arms, whilst breaking stone with the right: having their children with them is considered a privilege, when no one will take charge of them. Negro women have the character of extreme fondness for their offspring. The solitary cells were not very gloomy. H * * said that confinement in these cells whitened the skin, and he had a prisoner, time back, whose master did not know him from this cause; this favours the doctrine of "a tropical sun, a black

skin ;” though physiologists have satisfactorily proved the true cause exists in the rete mucosum. In this prison there is a distinction made in the diet between the black and white : the negro has twelve plantains and twelve ounces of salt fish per diem ; a white man has at least one third more, and meat two days a week ; judging from appearances the negro ought to have the most, in this climate he is certainly the most vigorous looking. P. H. informed us it was the custom to execute the sentences of flogging, openly at the market, and this is the prevailing punishment, from twenty to forty lashes ; and that here negros would be flogged by the public buildings, on a certain morning, at six A. M. We went, but none appeared.*

Prisoners are not confined long before trial, as the High Sheriff’s court sits every month : the court consists of four, viz. the High Sheriff, and three magistrates, no jury being nominated ; they hear a number of cases, then consult and pronounce judgment ; and the judgment is fearfully on one side ; and naturally so, for the High Sheriff is a wealthy planter ; the negros have to plead and defend their own causes, and of course do it imperfectly. We have attended this court ; one man, a Scotchman, appeared against two of his negro labourers. This Scotchman left his native

* J. S. tells me since his return, that these public floggings were not executed any more whilst he remained in the colony.

country as a ploughman, but having a white skin, soon obtained notice; he employed himself in raising sand mixed with broken shell, for garden walks; he engaged some indented labourers, who displeased him; he sent them to gaol, and they were tried and condemned to be punished.

There is a systematic plan for procuring these indented labourers. A vessel is sent to Barbadoes, Antigua, Tortola, et cet., on which islands there is a superabundance of hands. Agents on the islands, are instructed to buy up the terms of apprenticeship, from planters willing to sell. The negroes are persuaded by prospects held out, and then the abolition law allows their removal; they are carried to Demerara, and enter into an agreement to work out their apprenticeship, on certain terms. It might be wrong to call this the slave trade, but it may safely be called the apprenticeship trade, and over which the abolition act has no control.* It is so imperative for the planters to get rich out of human sinews, that I am sure the negroes can never effect their freedom. They will owe it, if ever procured, to the watchful anxiety of abolitionists. The apprenticeship, as regards negro women, is more heart rending than

* A dispatch from Lord GLENELG, No. 142, dated 19th. of August, 1837; as also Her Majesty's Order in Council, of the 12th. of July, 1837, have been published in the Royal Gazette at George Town.

These documents authorize the planters to import Hill Coolies, from Calcutta to Demerara, for five years, as indented

slavery; under the latter, the indulgences were many in clothes and provisions; the masters had an interest in the children, and took care of the mothers, having nurses and nurseries for their well doing. The change is sad, the planters' interest remaining in the mothers, and that ceasing in a few years, he forces them to the field, heedless of their sufferings; there is no matron to take charge of the children, and doubtless many have perished from this cause; yet the mothers prefer they should die, than bind them apprentices for twenty one years, which the local acts authorise. But not a single instance has transpired of a mother binding her child for any term. No, indeed, the six years apprenticeship they are enduring, is teaching them a lesson, which they are determined their children shall never learn.

11th. It rains almost every day; tropical rains are very heavy. The clouds are surcharged from the much greater absorption caused by a tropical sun. Owing, perhaps to the moisture of the climate, I have had several nights an oppression of breathing. I have a few times felt the same inconvenience in England; but the

labourers. Labourers in the East Indies, have the name of Coolies, and these coming from the hills, some distance from Calcutta, are called Hill Coolies. The information has recently arrived, that this outrage on humanity is already in operation, two vessels laden with these unfortunate beings, having recently arrived at Demerara.

sitting up, and throwing the window open, quickly relieved me. One window of my bedroom is open, having jalousies; I therefore fancied the musquitoe net increased the oppression, and one night sat outside and dosed till morning; but my legs above my cloth boots, and my temples were so musquitoeed, I durst not repeat this plan, and without any particular care the inconvenience has subsided.

“The learned tribe
A change of air for stubborn ills prescribe;
For doing nothing often has prevailed,
When ten physicians have prescribed and failed.”

We have been kindly noticed by Captain SOUTHEY, brother to the Laureate; he has an appointment as harbour master. He has written a chronological history of the West Indies, and is a friend to the Negro. He has a son and daughter living with him, who are accomplished and interesting. We have dined at his house, and met Mr. Ross, Stipendiary Magistrate, of George Town, and Captain ALLEN, a Magistrate, up the river; all persecuted men for their principles. Captain S. said it was the first Anti-Slavery party that had met at Demerara since the Abolition Act. One of the party said some time back he had been to the public sale rooms to buy some castors, and was astonished to find them selling apprentices by auction one by one. He represented the case to the Governor; the other party

prepared affidavits to prove the statement false. He had no witness, so could not maintain his ground; but the shaft of revenge was levelled at him; and as they could not effect his removal, they endeavoured to ruin him, by voting him a less income.

An individual case of oppression has much interested us: an apprentice, (Jupiter,) on the H—— estate, with an anchy-losed elbow, was pronounced by Dr. P——, medical visiter of the estate, to be fit for hard work. The man could not work, and came to Mr. Ross, who sent him for examination to the army surgeon, who declared him incapable. Jupiter, on returning to the estate, was confined in the dark hole. His diet was plantains and water; and because he could not work, he was banished to the back dam, there to be watchman, never to appear at the Negro huts. The back dam is the outside embankment of an estate, lonesome and solitary; where for weeks it might happen no one would see him. The two doctors have been quill quarelling manfully in the newspapers; but Dr. P's statements have a sandy foundation. Jupiter has called upon me; he is totally unfit for field work; the elbow joint of the affected arm is anchy-losed, having but slight motion, and the muscles above and below are much wasted; the disease is severe, and of long continuance. One arm is sound, and he might be usefully employed in many ways; but because he is unable to do hard work, he is

condemned by the Special Magistrate not to work at all, but to live like a hermit, walking round the dam ; most paltry revenge. Thus it is, that the poor Negros, acknowledged on all hands never to be wanting in gratitude, are driven to desperation. Jupiter, quite consistently with his name and situation, might have exclaimed with the poet :—

“ Proclaim the woe,
Ye woods, and tell it to the doleful winds,
And doleful winds wail to the howling hills,
And howling hills mourn to the dismal vales,
And dismal vales sigh to the sorrowing brooks,
And sorrowing brooks weep to the weeping stream.”

The Planters say the apprenticeship works well ; may be so for them ; but it works most wretchedly for the Negros. How I wish their freedom was sealed ; they are only treated and spoken of as chattels ; as free men they will flourish. There is a fine field for industry, labourers being much wanted. A respectable druggist, I am acquainted with, (his shop is larger and handsomer than any chemist's in Birmingham,) told me he had no fear as to the Negros after 1840. Any one said he can earn a dollar per diem. He pointed out to me an old man near the window, apparently infirm and fit for little. I have hired him out, said the druggist, at one hundred dollars per annum ; disgraceful income ! Man it is said shall live by the sweat of his brow ; but here he lives by the sweat of another's ; and in this way numbers are

supported by hiring out their apprentices. Compensation money came first, and now an annual income ; and this gain from the oppressed, continues to be so sweet, that freedom, I fear, will be made very tortuous ; and under the screwing operation of police and vagrant laws, it will be twisted into a very questionable shape. Anti-police, and anti-vagrant exertions will be wanted as much as anti-apprenticeship are at the present time. Do not then relax ; continue to awaken a British interest for the poor and the afflicted. In my opinion Anti-Slavery Societies have not always been on the right plan. Their funds have been expended in publishing, whereas they should have been spent in missions to get at facts. This private mission (for we do not spend the funds of any society) will enlighten the public more, and be of more benefit to the Negro, than printing tracts for five years in London. He who would hunt the lion, must seek him in his lair ; and so Anti-Slavery Societies must maintain their ground by positive facts, and trusty correspondents abroad, in whom they can confide. The apprenticeship could have been reasoned upon in England, but it could not have been seen without going to the West Indies.

“ If you wish to seek your real foe,

“ He is encamped on the Mountain of Bentomiz.”

I remain, &c.

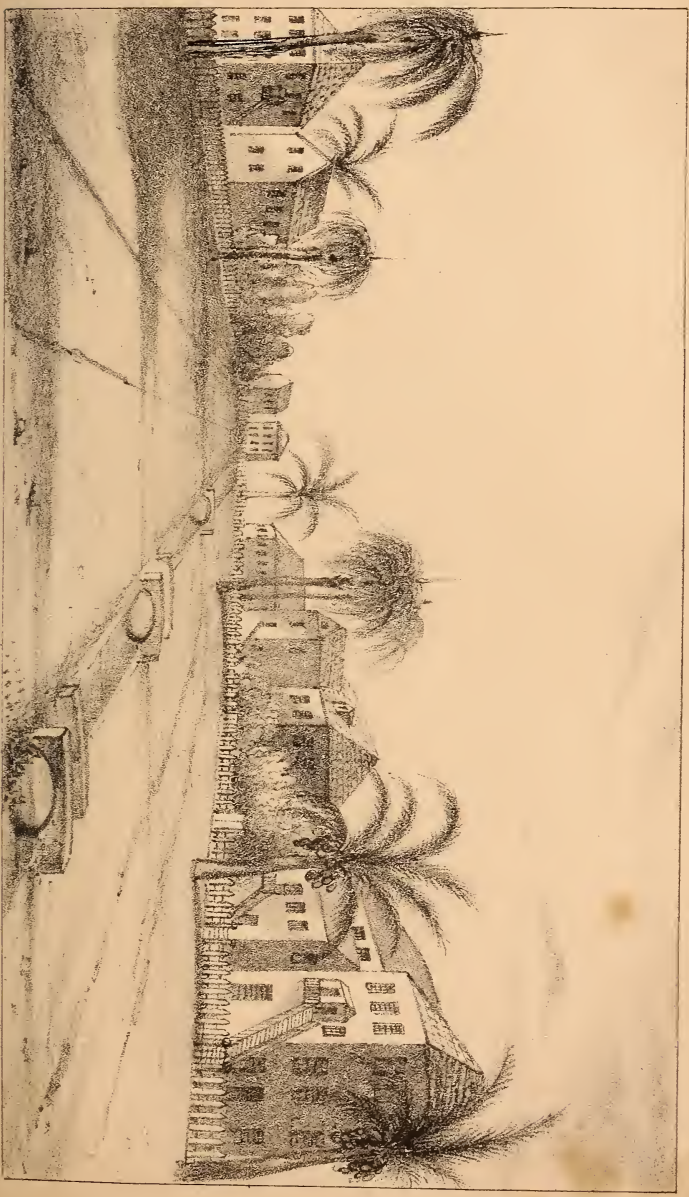
LETTER V.

George Town, Demerara, 12th Month, 18th, 1836.

MY DEAR F——R.

SABBATH days in this town are religiously observed, the stores are all shut, and the places of worship are filled with attentive hearers. The negroes are admitted into all, but in those under the patronage of the Government, they have poor accommodation; thus in St. George's, a gallery is appropriated to them; in the Scotch church, they sit in the passages between the pews. This may be one cause why the Missionaries have such fine negro congregations, there being no distinction in their communities of believers. This is the sabbath day, and it would have delighted thee this morning to have seen the congregation at J. KETLEY'S chapel; the women in white gowns, with bonnets, or showy handkerchiefs twisted round their heads; they do not wear caps, but bind round cotton prints in a tasteful manner. The men all neat in white jackets, or otherwise. The assembly was truly quietness personified, except when the hymns called forth their vocal powers. Negroes have great aptness in singing, and all

W. L. Dodd



L. Underwood del.

Main Street, South Cumingsburg.

join in, whether they know the words or not. In casting one's eyes over such an assembly, many of whom are apprentices, the query darts through the mind, is it possible that white men, who are worshipping beneath yonder spire, should claim an ownership in you, who are thus met to praise and glorify the same great Creator, whose harmony is as sweet to, and whose sincerity will be equally rewarded by, that Almighty Being? It is needful to come here to grasp the glorious subject of missionary enterprise; it is only by seeing them amidst their labours that we can duly appreciate the importance of their exertions. A Missionary goes forth with a scanty allowance from some society, erects a small chapel, with a few rooms over it as a residence, and devotes himself to his flock: in time, with contributions, et cet., he builds a commodious and elegant meeting house, and converts his first chapel into a school room; and having accomplished this, the congregation support him. But is the property his own? by no means, it is made over to individuals in trust, for the Parent Society; and if the Missionary dies, which often happens, his wife has no interest or claim upon it, but leaves her husband's vineyard to be cultivated by another; surely such are widows indeed, and deserve great sympathy. Apprentices come from a considerable distance, sit in the chapel between the services, and return home in the evening and night; it is the practice of J. KETLEY to converse with these, and to give

them instruction in reading, et cet. Under such influences it may be safely affirmed that all the predictions of future evil will be falsified ; but let us give the praise where it is due, to the Almighty and his servants, and not to the British Legislators, who contributed the Imperial Apprenticeship to fit the slaves for freedom !

We have received what is intended for a castigation, from the *Guiana Chronicle*, a paper subservient to what is falsely termed colonial interests: I am described as a skulking naturalist, and J. SCOBLE as an hired spy from Aldermanbury. This shows the envy and malice of the slavery advocating press. There is another government paper here, but no really independent liberal one, to advocate the cause of the coloured people ; there is, consequently, much mental slavery for want of more daring independence ; few are bold enough to say what they think ; they boast of being abolitionists, and they apply this as unction to their consciences, so that they may wipe their hands of crime, and and then say they “ we have no power ; first slavery was, and now the apprenticeship is, sanctioned by law.” My opinion is, that the West India Colonies are nests of prejudice ; for if individuals do not foster the colonial temper, they are marked men. The Southey's tell us they have formed the subjects of twenty leading articles in the above named paper, though they are of the high church party, but abolitionism denounces them. The free coloured people will not undertake the cause

of the apprentices ; they are supine and dare not, being shopkeepers, et cet., they fear persecution. There is only one way, the negroes must be made free, and then they will stand their ground and defend themselves ; they are not an idle people ; I never see them idling or loitering in the streets ; many of the women and children one meets are carrying burdens, such as vegetables, fruits, et cet. Negroes carry every thing on their heads, if only one pound weight ; thus never stooping in their walk, they have a remarkably erect position. Prejudice has taken deep root, and it is hard to say when the whites will lay it aside, and charity be cultivated. From society, from balls, and parties, the coloured people are excluded, though many of them are fairer than Europeans, and as well educated. A very respectable creole coloured neighbour of ours (creole means born in the West Indies, and applies to white or black) told us she had lost her eldest son ; for after he was expensively educated in England, where he was treated as a gentleman, he would not return to Demerara to be despised, and therefore went to the East Indies. The negroes are, and have been, a patient suffering people, and I do not doubt they will make industrious English subjects ; and I shall rejoice when they are free, seeing that enslaving man destroys many good qualities in the enslaver's heart, till sooner or later he opposes the christian virtues. The slave trade carried on, as it now is, under Portuguese colours, unfolds

a sad prospect of the continued deterioration of the human mind, and proves that the love of gain, or in other words money, is the root of all evil.

Near to J. KETLEY'S Chapel is a very large burial ground, the long grass shades the tomb stones. Here Missionary SMITH was buried. He was charged with abetting an insurrection of the Slaves in 1823. He was tried and condemned to death ; a sentence which the Home Government changed to banishment. He however died in prison, and J. WRAY, the oldest Missionary in the Colony, and who was a resident at the time, and acquainted with the circumstances of the trial, says, that the witnesses against Smith have nearly all come to a miserable end, and that those now alive, and who were in affluence when they appeared against him, are now beggars ; a striking instance of retributive justice. As I walk by, I endeavour to picture to myself what he endured, hurled from his pulpit to a loathsome prison, incarcerated as a malefactor, and perhaps dying unattended. He was not forsaken in his affliction ; faithfully believing and hopefully trusting, he was one of those, whom, as the historian observes, "fearing the Deity most, was least afraid of men." He might have exclaimed with Mary Queen of Scots, "Lament not, good Melville, but rather rejoice, since thou shalt see me this day released from all my earthly miseries."

"O, ye, that shudder at this awful strife,
This wrestling agony of death and life,

Think not that He, on whom my soul is cast,
Will leave me thus forsaken at the last.
Nature's infirmity alone you see ;
My chains are breaking, I shall soon be free."

Agents of the French Government, conveyed by a French Man of War, have been here investigating the apprenticeship ; they sailed again yesterday to visit Trinidad, et cet. They did not fall into the hands of the parties the Editor of the *Chronicle* wished ; so he makes it a subject to feed a corrupted taste ; in proof I send thee his last paper.

In my walks I have had great pleasure in watching the humming birds extracting sweets from trees in blossom, balanced on the wing ; the motion of their wings is too quick and rapid to be seen, and their restless bodies dart in every direction. My Christmas will here be spent in a sunny clime, with humming birds around ; whilst thy garden is disrobed of every beauty, and the fire has become the chief attraction. I have not seen a fire since I left Falmouth, except once on the packet ; and the idea of one is unpleasant to me. I should like a puff from the cold north. We have spent a day at the Stirling Plantation ; proprietor, Mr. RETTYMAER, and Receiver General of the Colony ; of Dutch extraction. He is a kind master, therefore not ashamed of showing his property. He has erected a school for the Negro children, which is very creditable ; the free

children being so much neglected, is one great evil of the apprenticeship. The Colonies, at a future day, will be either prosperous or disturbed, according as the rising generation is industrious or dissolute. We had much pleasure in seeing the interest manifested by the children ; they were of many colours. Large indeed is the capital required, and great is the labour to bring a part of this mud Savannah into profitable return ; for independent of the clearing and canals, there are wanted engine house, great house, boiling house, coffee logè, and Negro village, et cet., et cet. The mill here is on the most approved principle for economising labour ; it stands near the canal. In Demerara, cane is nourished by water, brought to the mill by water, and the sugar is carried off by water. Some philosopher said if he was to live a thousand years he could not discover all the benefits of cold water. In the canal lay a boat laden with canes ; Negroes were throwing these canes on to an inclined plane, which the engine works. On arriving at the horizontal crushing rollers, a Negro directed them through ; passing through once expresses the juice. On the other side the cane stalks, now called magass, fall upon another ascending inclined plane, which carries it up to the top of the magass house, and there as the revolving plane goes round, it is tumbled off. This magass, when dry, is fuel for the boiling house, and it is believed necessary for making good sugar. The evaporating liquor at different stages

requires different degrees of heat ; this magass answers the purpose ; it burns rapidly, producing a great flare and high temperature ; and then at any time by not continually feeding, the fire is nearly extinguished. Here then is one reason why rich lands are required for the cane, because the stalks being burnt, there is less spoil for manure. Canes however throw up much flag ; this partly falls off, part is trimmed off, and is left on the fields to decay ; and in the Islands it is of moment for the purpose of benefiting the soil, but in Demerara is not needed. From the rollers the juice falls into a spout, and thence runs to the boiling house. There are four or five boilers at work in a line over the fire flue ; the first is filled with fresh liquor, and as it inspissates, it is ladled on to the next, and so to the farthest one ; and from thence it runs to the crystallising vat, from which, in twelve hours it is carried to the hogsheads ; these hogsheads stand on timbers several inches apart, in a warehouse, over an under ground cistern, and the treacle drains from them into this dark vault. It is known to be a receptacle for many unclean things, as cock roaches (cacerlackes) scorpions, and especially for *rats* ; nothing escaping when once in, but lying as a scum on the surface ; and the chamber is rarely cleaned out. The treacle is pumped up into puncheons ; but the Negros have an idea that the molasses partakes more or less of such accidental impurities, and therefore have lost all taste for *ratified* treacle.

I do not intend any disparagement to the sugar itself; the manufacture of it is cleanly and quick, the liquor runs from the mill to the boilers, from the last boiler to the crystallising vat, and thence is carried to the hogsheads; neither to be moved again, or trodden down by negroes, as some have supposed. The canes may be growing in the field as to-day, and to-morrow the sugar be draining in the warehouse; the draining requires several days before they are headed up. Three hogsheads per acre is a fine crop, the Demerara planters have one great advantage, their fields seldom require fresh planting. From the inexhaustible fertility of the soil, canes bear ratooning; that is when cut down, the roots throw up fresh canes; all that is required is planting a fresh stalk where a root may have perished; we understand that cane fields will ratoon here for twenty or thirty years. We walked to the negro village; the huts are queer places without windows, with dangling overhanging roofs, and darksome. The best comparison is a long shed, partitioned off into apartments; the partitions are low, so that one may climb out of one into another. It was pleasant to hear those who were not absent in the field, greet their master; "how do massa, hope massa well, glad to see massa, massa long time coming." Thus they welcomed him, for his engagements in town only allow of occasional visits; all were glad to see him: it is evident the negroes are very susceptible of kindness; and

very affectionate, and truly respectful, when it is awarded them in lieu of "bitter dole." The proprietor is in advance of many others, is building many new cottages very comfortable; such forecast and attention will secure the serviceable negroes after 1840. A few days ago the proprietor of the adjoining estate was buried at eight A. M., the morning previously he had hung himself. He was eighty years old, separated from his wife: many years ago he fought a duel, and killed his adversary; this destroyed his "*mens conscia recti*;" it weighed heavily on his mind, he considered it murder, and said he ought to have been tried for his life; and as near as he was able he died like a malefactor, with a cap over his face, and suspended to a garret beam: neither of the colonial papers mentioned the manner of his death.

"Will human laws deter him? human laws
 Were surely not designed for men of honour.
 A starving wretch, in the pursuit of plunder,
 Commits a murder, and he shall be hanged;
 Not so your man of honour—he may
 Arrange deliberately his mode of murder;
 Become an adept by industrious practice,
 And boast of his expertness in the trade;—
 He shall go free—he is a man of honour;
 For laws, and those who ought to guard them, sleep.
 O yes! no doubt, we are a christian people."

Burials are seldom seen at George Town, they take place early in the morning, the day after death, and those on estates in private grounds;

so that there may be a great mortality and little evidence. Since our arrival one clergyman, and three medical men have died in this neighbourhood, and a little way up the river there is a station, where four ministers died in less than two years. Where Europeans have daily out door duties to perform, the climate is very trying, exertion producing great exhaustion; but otherwise with those who can be at ease in the shade, as storekeepers, et cet.: one, an acquaintance of mine, has been in George Town six years, and had excellent health.

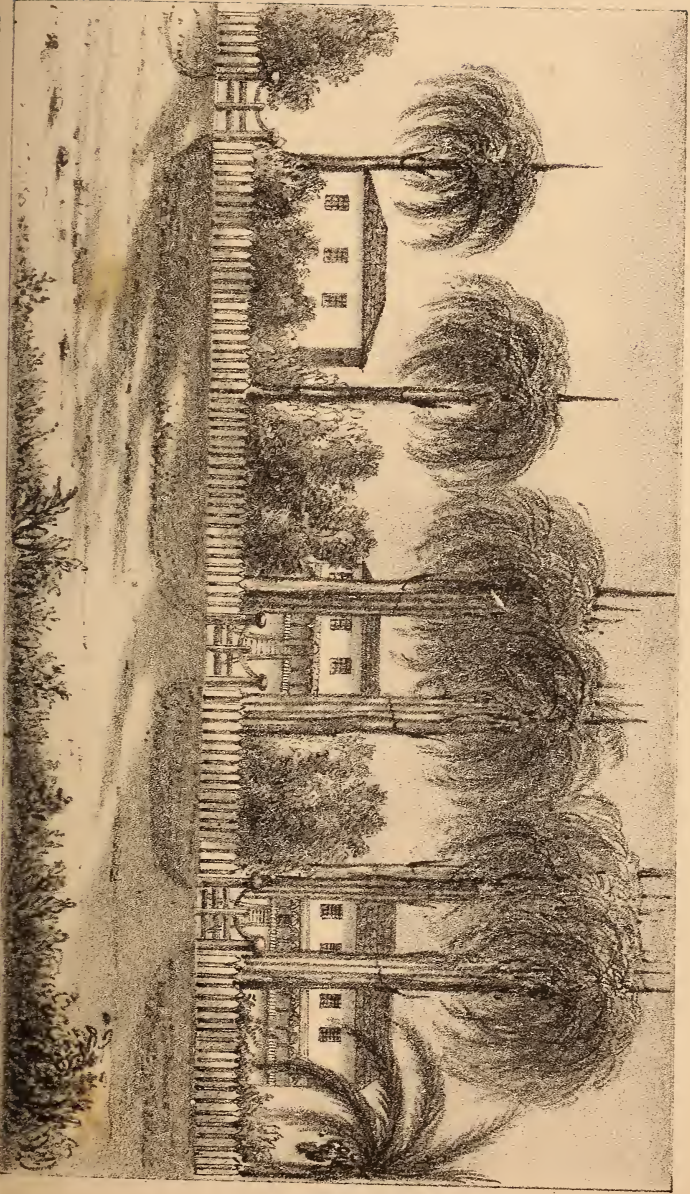
26th. Yesterday was Christmas as well as the Sabbath day. The Christmas holidays are dear to the Negros; they have two days' holiday. They make each other presents, feast together, and then dance the African dance, called "Joe and Johnny." The day in George Town was orderly and quiet as any English Sabbath till sun-down, when a few dances were in operation. They are open to any one; are performed at the back of the houses; the doors are thrown open for all inclining to walk through; a circle is formed, but the space is so small I could jump across it; as many as choose recite or sing to a very rude drum, (called gombay,)

"Which sounds like something, and yet it rings but hollow,"

played upon by the knuckles; and two or at most four are in the circle at a time performing the evolutions, which are continuous. One party being

W. L. 1877

Residences in South Florida



T. W. 1877

tired, they hand out others and rest; and so the dance goes on for hours, it may be the whole night. Each one recites what he likes; perhaps ridicules the "true Barbadian," who assumes considerable consequence, from its being the oldest British Colony. The amusement is simple, and I saw no intoxicating liquors handed about, yet very objectionable for a Sabbath Christmas eve; but do the great set a better example?

A son of one of the principal inhabitants, with his companions, started off up the river yesterday. The tide being against them they became weary, and coming to the shore, called at the Stirling Estate. The Manager was at Church; but they made quite free to lunch, and quite alarmed the domestics, who took them for sailors. They endeavoured to borrow horses, and not succeeding, they strolled towards town. The Manager coming home met them; and though acquainted with the young man, on this Sabbath and Christmas day, he took him and his companions to be common sailors. We breakfasted this morning at the Stirling Estate. Mr. RETTY-MAER accompanied us. The apprentices were in their best clothes, it being the holidays. It was a pleasant morning, and they all came to ask their master how he did. We made them some presents, as spoons, knives, et cet., which they joyfully received. They had much to say, and many favours to ask. They heartily expressed themselves regarding the presence of their master,

as a great treat. This was as it should be. "Not the mere mouth homage which betrays itself by the cold precision of the language in which it is couched, but the ebullition of feeling, rushing pure from the heart, and leaping the barriers of ceremony in its honest ardour." There are near three hundred apprentices on this estate, including children. We went into the hospital, alias sick-house, or hot-house, a suitable building; there were some patients, who were visited nearly every day by a medical man. One of the troublesome complaints is dysentery; the remedy is an infusion of ipecacuanhæ; at first it vomits, but longer persisted in, removes the complaint. In every sick house is a drug store; the apothecary is a Negro, perhaps an apprentice. The Medical Officer writes his prescriptions in a book in English, and leaves Sambo to administer them. The surgeon receives one dollar and a half, or more, for every adult on the estate, whether sick or not, per annum; supplies the medicines; and generally becomes a rich man; certainly so, if prudent, and having the charge of several estates; especially if residing in George Town, the estate practice not interfering at all with his private, he rides over to the estates before breakfast, which leaves him the rest of the day. The apprentices of this neighbourhood are under the notice of an evangelical clergyman, of the name of STRONG, and he is doing great good, and putting to shame all the other ministers, except the Missionaries. He

has a large Sunday school room purposely built near the Church ; and this being their annual examination, on our return we went in. At least two hundred black and coloured children were present. When the examinations had closed, they were to have refreshment, which was laid out in the room, covered with a cloth. We staid whilst three classes of twenty-five each were examined. They read Scripture lessons, and acquitted themselves so well, I could have believed they had tuition every day in the week, rather than once. Here then was proof that Negroes wish their children to be instructed, and that the children love the instruction. They were all neatly dressed, and many had walked miles, from the different estates. Some visitors were present, and the clergyman's lady had evidently her heart in the cause ; instead of being dressed out, she might have been taken for the mistress, and arranged the classes herself, walking amongst the pupils. Mr. STRONG dislikes the "Joe and Johnny" dancing ; and the apprentices are so desirous of pleasing him, it is thought there will be none this Christmas. Were all the Whites, Planters, et cet., such duty performing Christians, there would be no present gloom, nor future evil forebodings ; for as "hope enlarges happiness, fear aggravates calamity." The motto here should be "*non est vivere, sed valere vita,*" and thus the "*lædentia* would be changed for the *juvantia.*" An intelligent author observes, "The

great end of education, if it corresponds to the great end of life, is by no means advancement in the world, but to inculcate such principles, and lead to such habits as will enable men to pass with integrity and real honour through life, and to be inflexibly just, benevolent, and good.”

In going to the Stirling Estate, we pass by the ring; this is the fashionable drive, and after four o'clock, P. M., parties may be daily seen on their way to it. I was curious to see this ring; it may be two miles from town; the road passes by several fine estates, La Penitence, et cet., through an avenue of cabbage palms: it is merely a turn round for carriages on one side the road; so round the ring they wheel, and back again. There is however near to the town, an extensive ring with a grand stand upon it, viz., a race course. How appropriate this would be for evening drives. How much more beneficial than debarring it, except once or twice a year, when the races occur.

About this time last year I was skating at Bewdley, where I much admired the hoar frost, and could gather the “moss of many winters.” I am now breathing an atmosphere of 84° six degrees from the line; the former was the most invigorating.

I remain, &c.

LETTER VI.

New Amsterdam, Berbice River, 1st. Month, 1st., 1837.

MY DEAR F——R.

THERE are several Indian tribes around British Guiana ; the nearest to the settlements are the Arrawaaks, and next the Accawaies : numbers of these two tribes we saw daily in George Town previous to the Christmas holidays. They have festivities at this time, whether acquired from the negros I know not ; the Indians are not generally copyists. They come down the river in their corials, or canoes, to make purchases ; several times chiefs were with them. The sight is so common, few remark upon it, but our curiosity was much excited ; I saw them shopping ; they paid for the articles in silver coin, understanding the prices asked, as if acquainted with the English language. The chiefs were ornamented with feathers, and other finery ; the dress of the others was an apron ; infants were in the arms of the mothers ; they bring various articles for sale ; a common one is a pegall, or nest of baskets of wicker work ; the baskets diminish

in size gradually, and the internal one is small. Short stature, symmetrical figure, red skin, and lank black hair, are their characteristics; they are exceedingly hospitable at their wig wams; and HERBERT SOUTHEY, who has frequently visited them, has met with true generosity and good nature: when under the influence of "fire water" they will part with their most valuable commodities, and in this way the very head dress of a chief may be obtained: in George Town they appear quite at ease, walking independently and fearlessly. Negros cannot compare with them as to features, their facial angle is so inferior. Not understanding their language was a barrier to social acquaintance. CHARLES WATERTON, Esq. in his wanderings, mentions a large shed on the banks of the river, a little distance from town, erected by government for the use of the Indians, where presents were given to them, and where parrots, and other curiosities might be bought; I walked several times to this shed, it is much dilapidated, the shingles having fallen off; there were generally a few Indians idling in their hammocks, or sitting down, making a temporary abode there, but they had neither animals or birds to dispose of; and a more comfortless resting place I never beheld. The Indians were the original possessors of the soil, and now all the accommodation they can procure in George Town is a roofless shed: they are deserving of more attention.

Though I pitied the scanty clothing of the Indians and negros, for I have not seen a gang at work with any more clothing on than a girdle, there was one class of the community I pitied equally for having too much, viz. the soldiers; those I saw, wore the regimental dress of England, red cloth jackets. Red cloth jackets to patrol guard, in a noon-day tropical sun! inconceivable state of discomfort! I spoke to one, he said there was nothing cheap in the colony but rum and tobacco, and that he was heartily tired. Soldiers in the tropics should have two dresses in use, a linen one for the day, and a cloth one for night duty. I was liberally provided with flannel waistcoats, recommended as necessary to insure my health; but the idea of flannel when in the tropics, made me feel feverish. I was never comfortable except in a dressing gown, or light linen jacket: these jackets, with a panama hat, are worn by all classes. When we were introduced to the Governor, at the public buildings, he had a round-about on: when considering the fearful sacrifice of life, which at times takes place amongst the troops in the West Indies, one feels anxious their comfort should be promoted to the utmost.

Government has a sloop to carry dispatches to Berbice and back, it goes and returns every week; it is allowed to take passengers, but they must find their own refreshment, knife and fork, and plate, et cet. We left George Town by this boat on the

27th., in the evening; it is a small affair, and no separate cabin for the ladies, the distance to Berbice river by sea, is near seventy miles: we escaped serious uneasiness, and yet comfort is not synonymous in my mind with a Stabroek dispatch boat; "*meque jucundus somnus reliquit.*" I had therefore time to recollect our animated conversations with the Berbice planters, on our first landing at Stabroek, and how well J. SCOBLE, "*respondere paratus,*" maintained his ground. One evening it was amusing; Mr. H.—"*omnifariam doctus,*" boldly maintained the planters' cause. J. S. drove him from one position to another, till he endeavoured to shelter himself under Bible authority; this proved untenable, and he came back to profane history, bringing Herodotus into the field: and who, asked J. S., was Herodotus, and when did he write, and whom will you quote next? Mr. H.— reflected, paused; the silence was felt, no answer came. J. S. saw his confusion, and replied, Herodotus wrote four hundred and eighty four years B. C., and was the father of history. The father of history closed the debate, and we retired to bed. I reflected on the persecutions that Captain SOUTHEY, and Magistrates ALLEN and ROSS were subject to; the latter during our visit, was threatened with an action, because he would not consent a woman should leave her reputed husband, and be sold to Pomaroon, in the Essequibo district, which is considered the Botany Bay of the colony:

this woman was working hard for her master in George Town, but, nevertheless, he had sold her for the Wilderness. Mr. Ross has to hear and judge from, thirty to forty complaints every day; yet when acting up to the letter of the Imperial Act, is threatened with law proceedings. I recalled our conversation with Dr. B.—, he left Belfast an abolitionist some years back, was taken into partnership by Dr. S.—, and advancing rapidly to fame and fortune, beheld the poor Africans through the Colonial lens.

“Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views,
At evening from the top of Fesolé.”

But the Colonial optic glass is not famed for developing all the wonders of creation; on the other hand, it disfigures and disparages the Almighty's most glorious work, man, made in his image. The Colonial atmosphere freezes as it were the current of sympathy; like a deadly upas tree, it corrupts every thing within its influence; and so every one who acquires gain, produced by the poor Negros' “*thews and sinews*,” becomes sooner or later inclined to foster the evil, and ere long embarks with

“Those who travel far, and sail
To purchase human flesh; to wreath the yoke
Of vassalage round beauteous liberty;
Or suck large fortune from the sweat of Slaves.”

Melancholy is the change which too frequently occurs; and the argumentative reasoning from

false premises, on the ground of public and private right, independent of Christian principle, was always painful to my mind ; a wish arose that I might be restored to a country, where Christian principle was acknowledged, and where a man might boldly become its advocate without being accused of undermining and convulsing society. Society in the Colonies is not held together by the innumerable, indissoluble, invisible links of Christian compact, but by a single tremendous one,—power. The whites have got possession of this link, and are so pleased with its magnitude and proportions, they compel the Negros to bear it about, that all whites may have the satisfaction of beholding the treasure ; and when philanthropists say it is too heavy, it c'ant be borne ; it presses the Negros to the earth ; we must lighten it ; then bursts forth the hue and cry, “ you are ruining the Colonies, you are disorganizing society.” I remembered our conversations with J. KETLEY and Dr. C., the latter had been medical attendant to several estates ; but sympathising with the Negros, and not countenancing the unjust application of the Imperial Act, he had to retire altogether from the estates, and devote himself to private practice in George Town. As an explanation of this unusual course, the whites said he was deranged.

In the morning we observed a large object afloat in the sea before us ; the captain had never before seen any thing like it ; in a short

time the mystery vanished ; we passed near, and beheld a large steam engine boiler afloat : no doubt some vessel afraid to near the shore, had discharged it, and it was waiting a boat from some neighbouring estate to tow it to land. The verdurous shore formed the horizon on our right, and sailing on, we made the mouth of the Berbice river, and beheld Crab Island, low and ever green ; it may be two miles in circumference, uninhabited, covered with mangroves, courada, and other timber. Sailing slowly through the ebbing tide, we had a continuous view of the low muddy banks. The waders were very numerous and attractive, from the contrast of colours. The little egret heron, (*ardea garzetta*,) snowy white ; the blue heron, (*ardea cærulea*,) and the red curlew genus, (*scolopax* ;) their local names are white and blue galding, and currie currie ; these birds, white, blue, and scarlet, stalking at ease along the water's edge, beneath the living green, which knows no change, at once characterised tropical Guiana. As we ascended the river, numbers of the Turkey buzzard (*vultur aura*) stood moping in the sun. This is the untiring scavenger of southern latitudes, and protected by law : hence their tameness. Its appearance is disgusting, and the effluvia from its body, when in the hand, offensive ; but on high it is the most graceful of æronauts ; speed is not its object, but to pry into every darksome hole and corner, where death and corruption can shelter. Poised on its

outstretched wings, it rises and falls without apparently moving them ; its gyres are now close to the earth, and then it wheels aloft, anxious to snuff an odoriferous carcase in the coming breeze.* Their plumage is a dark dingy brown ; there are no feathers on the head and half way down the neck ; so that their hooked bills can plunge deep into carrion, without any danger of their feathers being soiled. At night they perch side by side on the horizontal leaves of the tallest cocoa nuts, in quiet broodings and melancholy musings, till awoken by the morning light, their silent search begins for the savoury morsel, here and there, and every where. They acquired the name of turkey from the plumage and wattled head and neck. History says that the first discoverers of Jamaica, were overjoyed at the abundance of these birds, and hastily endeavoured to make ready a turkey feast. The turkeys were knocked down, and this was the only preparation, as I believe they were left unplucked. Since skinning one of these birds my relish has lessened for the true *dindon* ; so much is in a name.

On becoming acquainted with Guiana, the mind thinks it may have been easily conquered by the

* They are not so numerous in George Town, from being too much disturbed, or too little protected ; but in New Amsterdam, I daily walked within a few feet of them. I threw out a little offal before our lodgings occasionally, to notice how soon they would find it ; the gift was always quickly partaken of, and eaten on the premises ; proving they were honest beggars.



W. T. G. 1847

J. Underwood Lith.

British, but not so easily settled by the Dutch ; few but Dutchmen would have attempted it ; they could not resist the charming similitude to their native country and the darling mud. They received great assistance from the Indians, simply because they treated them kindly. The Berbice river has a northern course similar to the Demerara, and its shores are equally rich and green, with alluvial fatness. New Amsterdam is upon the eastern shore, two miles from Crab Island. We landed about noon ; it reminded me of the commencement of one of Dr. JAMES JOHNSON'S (of London) chapters in "Home Circuit, versus Foreign Travel," viz. : "As Oban is a little Omuz, so Tobermorry is a little Oban ;" and by the same method of comparison New Amsterdam is a little Stabroek, with one eminent advantage, having a wide road between the stellingen and stores, so that the river attractions are open to all ; and the dwellings being over the stores, from the apartments there is a picturesque river view. In the last census of 1827, the Berbice district only numbered 523 whites ; free-coloured, 1,161 ; whilst the Slave registration for 1831, numbers 20,418. New Amsterdam is, I believe, an older settlement than Stabroek, but is now far behind, not being the seat of government, and not having the character of a healthy site. Immediately behind the town is a very extensive lagoon ; this might easily be drained on the Dutch system of canals and

sluices, but it is valued by the inhabitants for its pasturage, and fresh water for their cattle; and so it remains a Miasma marsh. We settled down in lodgings, previously engaged; by which means we escaped a repetition of our Stabroek inconvenience. We were kindly noticed by Mrs. WELSHMAN, and a son-in-law, who called and welcomed us. She is a lady of an enlightened mind, and entered feelingly into the subject of Negro oppression. Her father, Mr. C., was one of the wealthiest Planters, so she was well acquainted with both the Slave and Apprenticeship system. Her heart was however distressed at the degradation and sufferings of the Negroes; and not a single observation escaped her, inclining to the view that the tale of woe had been too deeply coloured; far otherwise. She was delighted to hear the subject developed, reasoned upon, and denounced on Christian principles; and promoted our visiting Berbice, that some others might have the advantage of hearing enlightened views. Mrs. W. has daily been taught in the school of affliction for some years, and they who have been instructed thereby, can sympathise with the distressed. I wish I had liberty to relate her romantic touching history, but omitted to ask permission.

Mrs. W. kindly pressed us the day we landed to dine with her and some of her relations; but J. S. having a swelled face, we declined. Two days after, we had a kind invitation from another gentleman; a little indisposition prevented my

accompanying J. S., who went on the day appointed. I afterwards became acquainted with the occurrences of that evening. My friend found himself in the midst of the leading Planters of Berbice, all “pipkins of the same pottery.”

Men feel their weakness, and to numbers run,
Themselves to strengthen, or themselves to shun;
But though to this our weakness may be prone,
Let's learn to live, for we must die alone.”

After dinner, and the ladies having retired, one of the company addressed the party figuratively and flowery, and closed by saying he should offer a sentiment, which he hoped no one present would refuse to drink,—“ships, colonies, and commerce.” All eyes were turned on J. S.; he was ready. I cannot acknowledge it, he said, exactly in the acceptance with which Planters receive it: “let ships spread their sails, let commerce double itself, but the colonies must be free.” Then came the clash of words; when “Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war;” forthwith they began “*vi et armis*” to defend their “peculiar institutions,” and to scotch the “spy” in their own waters; the odds were considerable, J. S. standing alone; nevertheless, I presume his arguments were conclusive, as he had no other such opportunity during my stay at Berbice.

The weather is very wet; the salt at table is like paste; and in the night the rain is very disturbing; my bed is just under the shingles, and

when it pours, if I were outside, it would not startle me more. New Amsterdam has its newspapers, and I have read the following in the last *Berbice Gazette*; it contains a report of some sentences just passed at the Barbadoes Court:—
“One white soldier killed another from provocation; he was sentenced to six month’s imprisonment. An apprentice broke into a cellar, and took a bundle of fire wood; he was sentenced to two years imprisonment, and to be flogged thrice; thirty-six lashes each time; and this the whites call even handed justice, and yet these poor apprentices do all the work; no whites can ever do it. The poor blacks ought to be protected; it is their right. Whether they ever will be properly treated no one can say; but the more I see of their arduous duties in this torrid sultry clime, the more oppressed my mind becomes, under a sense of their grievous hardships and degradation. Whites here take very little exercise, except with horse or gig; as we have no conveyance, I walk a little daily. Dr. H. says I shall have fever; but where novelty is on every side, one cannot imprison oneself; yet a little distance goes a great way; two miles is wearying, four exhausting; whereas in England, I have walked twenty-five miles over Derbyshire Hill and Middleton Vale without sitting down. Horses are spirited here, they are kept well on oats and grass; and on this plan appear in health, with fine glossy coats,

which never become rough and long; there is another cause for their mettle, in the stable and out, they are tormented with mosquitoes and flies, which act like spurs on every available part; their bodies are protected partly by netting, but their misery is great in Demerara: they are not so much tormented in the islands. Sheep are forlorn objects, losing all their wool, and the cattle in general are very scraggy; the long grass which is so abundant, is sour and unpalatable: when they feed on cane tops they thrive. This colony depends on the States for flour and corn, and owing to the scarcity there, it is very dear. Horses are also imported in considerable numbers.

This is the Sabbath, as well as new year's day; Christmas, and consequently the first of the new year, falling on Sabbath days, during our abode in Demerara, has conduced to meditation; the present one has been an interesting occasion at J. WRAY's Missionary Chapel. There is only one building as a Church here at present, besides the Dutch and Missionary Chapels; a consequence is, that the Episcopalians have it one Sabbath, and the Presbyterians another; this harmony will soon be ended, as the foundation of a new Episcopal Church will be laid next week. There are four religious denominations in Demerara supported by the Government,—Episcopal, Presbyterian, Dutch, and Catholic; the Ministers of each of which receive five hundred pounds sterling, I believe, per annum.

8th. Soon after coming here we received a kind invitation from a planter of Dutch extraction, VAN ROSSUM; he possesses two estates, one a few miles up the river, De Kindren (or the children) and the Edwards, where he resides, nearly opposite our lodgings. He is a man of fine literary talent, and had been secretary to a former Governor, but for some time has been in difficulties, owing to his benevolence in purchasing the Edwards'; this estate had been long uncultivated and run wild; but the negroes were upon it, and to prevent their being sold, and separated wives from reputed husbands, he bought it and them. The ferry belongs to the estate, and the negroes now only work the ferry boat; the consequence has been he could not meet his engagements. His creditors threatened to sell the negroes; he clung to them like children and prevented it; however, they took possession of the De Kindren, a very profitable coffee estate, netting about five thousand pounds per annum; and have held it a few years, till their claims were liquidated, which has recently taken place. V. R. has a large family, and they have resided at De Kindren; but he has never been there since the trustees got possession, having buried himself at the Edwards', with one son as a companion. I went over a few days ago to breakfast, believing I was on a visit to first rate quarters. I walked into the hall, was cordially welcomed, and sat down to breakfast; we were waited upon by an almost

naked black girl. V. R. apologised, said he could not clothe his negros, the trustees had taken every thing out of his power ; and if he had not obtained a little money from the ferry, and caught fish, and employed a good hunter, an Indian, he must have famished, often depending for a dinner on fish or game he might obtain in the morning. After a scanty breakfast he took me up into his study, and read and talked to me seven hours successively, viz., till dinner time. He has occupied himself in this way during his absence from his family, writing long dispatches to Lord GLENELG, SIR ROBERT PEEL, and FOWELL BUXTON, Esq.: the character of these writings is that of benevolence ; they have literary merit, and are spiced here and there with ancient lore. His conversation ran upon the overwhelming evils of the apprenticeship ; and when speaking of Mingo he was much affected. "Mingo's," said he, "is a sad tale ; he was torn from Africa when a boy ; was an apprentice on the Blair Mount estate, Berbice ; much prized for his good qualities, and for good conduct and religious progress, was deacon in J. WRAY'S Chapel. The manager of the estate wished him to be head man, *id est*, driver ; in which capacity he would be the flogger of the negros, when sentenced to the punishment : on this ground he refused ; said he was willing to work in the penal gang, or do any menial service, but he could not flog his fellow-workmen : for disobedience the Special Magistrate

sentenced him to imprisonment and a flogging of twenty lashes ; he was again ordered to drive the gang, again refused, again underwent the same sentence ; was again ordered to be driver, again objected, was again flogged, and this was repeated till he had been flogged five times ; at last the Special Magistrate became so enraged, he said he should be flogged as long as the apprenticeship lasted, every time he was brought up. Short sighted man ! soon after these expressions he went over to New Amsterdam, and on returning died of apoplexy ; but the tale of horror remains.* Our time passed in my listening to the afflictions of the distressed negros, till dinner was announced at five P. M. After dinner VAN ROSSUM kindly invited me to the study again ; I had had more than a feast, and declined ; and would not be persuaded to enter *it* any more. V. R. kindly offered to go on with his papers, but I proposed a walk to the Missionary, T. HOWE, son-in-law to J. WRAY, whose abode and Chapel was not more than half a mile distance in the woods, on the land road to George Town, which is near sixty miles long, running through the different estates. In dry weather the road is pleasant, but has the inconvenience of crossing three rivers, named creeks ; the Mahaica, Mahaicony, and Abary. Where we walked, it was simply a grass road, cleared of

* J. SCOBLE has since visited the estate, and conversed with Mingo, and is able to supply all the details ; my account is simply the heads of the offending.

trees ; we reached T. HOWE'S cottage adjoining his Chapel at dusk ; he was gone to bed ; but soon came down and apologised, saying he was not strong, and that they retired early to avoid the necessity of lighting candles, which attracted the musquitoes ; it was cheering to sit and converse with a pious man, at this mission station, embowered in the woods : a cane field was before the door, and deep solitude around.* After saying farewell, we walked pensively homeward, till I was aroused by the gally nippers, which easily penetrated my Berlin gloves, and carried on their trumpeting assaults availably against my face and neck. On reaching V. R's. residence, I retired to bed, which had no net ; the knowledge of this at once destroyed the faculty of sleeping, and well it was so, or I might have been blind by the morning ; morning was never more welcome to me.

“Lovely indeed is morning ; I have drank
Its fragrance and its freshness, and have felt
Its delicate touch ; and 'tis a kindlier thing
Than music, or a feast, or medicine.”

After breakfast V. R. sent his Indian hunter to shoot me some parrots ; and accompanied by some of his apprentices, we went net fishing, near

* This devoted interesting Missionary, and his venerable father-in-law, J. WRAY, died a few months after, near together, of the yellow fever.

Crab Island: we were not successful, and e're we returned the tide was at its height, covering the muddy shore: at this time the galdings and curries have to perch on branches; we shot one of the latter: (this perching was an adaptation of habit to necessity, for European curlews I believe never settle on trees :) the plumage of the one shot was brown; these birds not acquiring their scarlet colour till the second year: on going amongst the mangroves to pick it up, the negros having no covering on their backs could not endure the sand flies; (these are small as midges and very prevalent on the coast;) but smacked their hands against their naked bodies in all directions. When again at some distance from the trees, we were rid of the annoyance. The Indian hunter was awaiting our return with two green parrots, one of which had lacerated his finger severely with a bite. I looked upon him with interest, as he stood in his independent attitude almost naked before us. The Dutch have treated the Indians very kindly from their first occupation of the soil, and this red man had been V. R.'s hunter for many years, having forsaken his tribe. The English have pursued a more hard hearted policy. I now parted from my kind host, and recrossed the ferry. V. R. is certainly eccentric; his mind appeared to me in a state of conflict, pressed down with a consciousness of the negros' sufferings, and though rather incommoded by his zeal on

their behalf, I felt deeply convinced that Christian benevolence was the main spring of his actions, and could not but wish there were more English and Scotch, like the eccentric VAN ROSSUM.

I remain, &c.

LETTER VII.

New Amsterdam, Berbice River, 1st. Month, 15th., 1837.

MY DEAR F——R.

THE space of one week in the West Indies brings many occurrences which would interest thee. I can only mention the most prominent. I am desirous that my unfinished pictures should, as far as the colouring goes, at least be true; "*magna est veritas, et prævalebit;*" but this is a land of contradictions, and soon as a fact has been engrafted in the mind, by the reasoning of what seems indubitable authority, it is shaken and unsettled by another, equally convinced of his own assertions: *pro exemplo*. Dr. B., of George Town, assured me the Negros were very partial to salt-fish, and that it was necessary for their health; and as a proof of nature's requiring, I observed even whites, however pampered, still retained a relish for it; and it forms a standing dish at all well supplied breakfast tables. Since coming here we have been introduced to two Special Magistrates, who boldly affirm the Negros do not like salt, and from choice never eat it; as proof of which, said one of them, the prisoners of the

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J. Underwood, del.



gaol are not allowed salt.* These two specials also say if the apprentices have task work, which they can do in five hours, they will be eleven over it, because they like the sun on their bare backs. I am witness that they have the sun on their bare backs, yes, for eleven hours successively; but I heard no expression of joy on the occasion. There is at the present time a gang at work near our lodgings, digging a main canal; I have walked several times to see them, and am astonished at their hardihood; throwing out the mud, knee deep in water. I conversed with them; as they spake the Dutch patois, it was not very intelligible. I learnt, however, that they had no enjoyment in it, but that they felt borne down; they said they were in the ditch twelve hours, and went not home from morn till night. As a day's work under the Imperial Act is seven and-a-half hours, they may have exaggerated; however I was satisfied as to their enjoyment of a

* J. S. after my departure investigated this circumstance at the gaol, and found it to be true, that the prisoners had not salt, but that it was a most cruel withholding of a very necessary article. J. S. exposed this treatment, and had the satisfaction of knowing before he left the colony, that it was again supplied to the prisoners. One of these Special Magistrates, previously to his appointment, held a responsible situation under Government, as Protector of the Indians, and this I believe is still continued to him: thus it is evident the Government Protector of the Indians sanctioned the withholding of salt from the poor prisoners in the gaol at Berbice, although it is declared necessary for their health by the medical faculty.

tropical sun on the bare back system, and much pitied them; feeling exhausted myself, though under the shade of an umbrella, when standing still.

This morning I attended divine service at J. WRAY's Chapel; it was solemn and impressive, "*cujus etiam a lingua, melle dulcior fluebat sermo.*" I looked around upon the "goods and chattels," so called, and saw "fellow man" stamped on their foreheads. Nearly all the hearers were blacks, in their white Sabbath dresses; patient auditors they were, listening to gospel truths; whilst the free winds of heaven, circulating through the chapel, drove forward the "light buxom air" to refresh us. The time I hoped was nigh when they would be as free as the air which they breathed, notwithstanding their masters ("*felices in suo errore*") continually repeat their favoured argument,—will you break faith with us, and set at nought a most solemn compact, when all is working so well; but if human laws work so well, doubtless the divine laws will work still better; suppose we try. I remarked one untidy individual, a white sailor without coat or stockings on, yet he walked up to the very top of the meeting as if conscious of superior worth.

J. WRAY is a Missionary patriarch; is connected with the London Missionary Society; the oldest in the West Indies, and has been out nearly thirty years, and first settled in George Town. At that time there was no minister, except a Dutchman,

who seldom or never officiated ; neither was there any regular place of worship. After establishing that mission he removed to New Amsterdam, where he found the same neglect, and the same want. He has lived to see the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and Dutch Churches liberally supported by the Government in each town, the ministers of which have houses free from all payments, and a very liberal annual income. As regards this town, these ministers have no Sabbath or day schools ; whereas J. WRAY is just completing a new school, which is to be open to all sects. On Sabbath days he has for long had scholars at his Chapel from ten to eleven A. M., and from three to five P. M. ; and the only monied favour extended to this worthy minister, has been an exemption from rates ; yet will it be believed that at this very hour he is threatened with prosecution if he does not pay the demand of the tax-gatherer.* J. WRAY has seen Slavery in all its horrors, when the public sales were accompanied with public floggings if the negros showed any obstinacy. He now hopes to see the day when this incongruous apprenticeship shall lie down with Slavery side by side, fac-similes as they are. He has no doubt as to the negros' fitness for instantaneous freedom. He has long beheld a lucid proof of their fitness in the Winkle negros ; (so named, I believe, from an estate they were for-

* J. S. informs me the prosecution has been withdrawn.

merly attached to;) these were liberated by the English Government on taking possession of the Colony, and live at the edge of the town, in a village appropriated to them. It has been the practice to vilify and traduce these descendants of Africa, but through evil report they maintain their ground as loyal subjects, and worthy members of society; and J. WRAY says when the new barracks, a few years since, were to be built at Berbice, no one was found so competent in plans, et cet., as a Winkle negro; and now being finished, they are acknowledged to be equal to any in the West Indies; and also so noted are the women for economy and good management, that when a tradesman or Planter wants a thrifty housekeeper, his first inquiry is for a Winkle negress.

“Then let not censure, with malignant joy,
The harvest of their humble hopes destroy.”

Facts like these ought to carry conviction along with them; they prove that the necessity of the apprenticeship has been argued for upon fallacious grounds. Slavery may be compared to a torrent, which overwhelms all the beautiful flowers which would ornament a less deep and impetuous course; would you wish them again to appear, do not waste time by placing Special Magistrates to protect them from further injury; no, at once let off the destroying waters, and the blushing petals will bloom of their accord. Thus remove

the curse of Slavery from the negro, and his moral and intellectual worth shall show themselves; they shall adorn his character with an integrity sufficient to silence the bitterness of disappointed tyranny: *fiat justitia, ruat cælum.*

According to appointment, in the early part of last week, we visited the De Kindren estate a few miles up the river, accompanied by VAN ROSSUM, the proprietor; he would not go to it whilst in the hands of trustees, but now that the claims against him are liquidated, he had resolved to introduce us to his family, to see how his apprentices were going on, and in fact to reinstate himself as "*magister domi.*" He sent down for his eight-oared barge, and about noon, V. R., J. S., and myself, were seated in the cabin, with eight lusty blacks as oars-men. The size of the boat, and the length of the oars enabled them to row in a manner which amused us; they all stood up on the rowing seats, and at a signal, splash went their oars, and down went their bodies; as the oars swept through the water, the negroes assumed an horizontal position, almost lying flat, then up they sprang again, balanced their oars with one hand, waved the other arm around in various evolutions, till the true time came for dipping the oars and lowering their bodies. After conversing awhile, we asked V. R. to permit the negroes to row according to their own "taste;" they at once accompanied their movement with a wild chorus, which added much interest to the

scene. Negroes are in no wise convinced of the adage, "*namque tacere tutum semper erit*;" they prefer exercising the faculty of speech. I had previously noticed in going over the ferry, that one of the rowers would soliloquise the wind, and the water; making at the same time movements with his hand, as if the objects he was addressing understood him.

On reaching De Kindren, the family were waiting to receive us, and a more interesting one could not well be. Mrs. R. graced the interview with her ease and politeness: two sons grown up, and two daughters in their teens were present; the tropical sun had sapped the roses, and delicate lilies occupied their place, watched over by gently expressive languishing eyes, and crowned with the charm of creole elegance and grace. V. R. once more rid of the "*res angusta domi*" was delighted to be again restored to his family, and the day fled in harmless hilarity and joy. The house is prettily situated one hundred yards from the river, with an avenue of cabbage palms before it. After sun down, V. R. and I walked out along the main canal, into the coffee plantation; ere we were far from the great house, a negro overtook us, and conversed earnestly with his master in Dutch, pointing to the moon. V. R. said we must retrace our steps; and told me the purport of the conversation, viz., his negro advised us to turn back, that the moon was now up, and it was not safe for us to expose ourselves to its rays, and

the falling dews ; this trait of kindness was not lost upon us, we did so ; and made a few calls amongst the invalids in the negro village, who were truly glad once more to see their master.

Night's silent Wanderer, O tell me whence !
 Is thy mysterious, secret power, intense ;
 Thou dost to all things, smilingly impart,
 Appropriate charms, although but one thou art ;
 The dusk of eve, is more mysterious now,
 And bending twigs, more lowly seem to bow ;
 Noises are nearer, louder is the tone,
 Of " Who are you," and " Whip poor Willy's" * moan ;
 And yet moreover, silence seems more still,
 As if possessing every power at will :
 A lover's grief, and then a lover's boon,
 Some do believe are measured by the moon.
 If an eccentric man, has one screw loose,
 Then thy full orb makes him a greater goose :
 And more than this, when sailors are asleep,
 Thou dost their eyes in fatal darkness steep ;
 When they awake, they cannot Phœbus find,
 But stand amazed to find themselves moon-blind.

The next morning early, V. R. and I walked through the coffee plantation ; the trees are in rows, the size of large currant bushes, and shaded by the forest trees which are left at proper distances, for this purpose ; the blossom is white and fragrant as the jessamine, and the fruit is the size and colour of a cherry, pleasant to the taste : inside the pulp are two seeds, which are the coffee berries ; when ripe it is gathered, and carried to the pulping mill ; the seeds are next

* Two species of the genus, (*caprimulgus*) or goatsucker.

spread on a flagged space, (the barbecue,) to dry in the sun; when dried, the seeds are pressed under revolving perpendicular rollers, to separate the husks, then winnowed similarly to corn; the decayed and imperfect berries are next picked out; the coffee is packed in tierces, and shipped off. On account of the richness of the soil, there are here two crops in the year: the gatherings are in the fifth and ten months. On the trees were ripe berries, the succeeding green berries, and abundance of blossom perfuming the air. The produce varies as the size of the trees, from one to three pounds; as, however, there are many thousands on a plantation, the whole return is large. From ripe berries dropping and growing, there are always sufficient of young trees coming on to replace dead or decayed ones.

Though not an object for export from this estate, there were many flourishing chocolate trees (*theobroma cacao*;) the tree is compact and elegant, about twelve feet high; and the fruit does not hang from the twigs, but grows directly out from the trunk, and larger stems; it is in shape like a pine apple, but longer and more pyramidal; the inside is filled with a luscious pulp and with seeds, which are the cocoa nibs of commerce. Plucking this large fruit is much less tedious than gathering coffee berries; the inside pulp has a pleasant acidulous flavour. We returned to the house about ten A. M.; I was faint from the hot sun, and longed for an English breakfast; as yet there

were no signs but the table cloth. V. R. called his family together, and read his own composition to us for one hour. It was an address he had prepared for the occasion, descriptive of his sufferings, of their duties, of Negro claims, and of his happy restoration to his paternal estate, et cet., et cet. He told us he had followed this practice of writing to his family during his absence occasionally, that they might not feel forsaken. The sentiments on this occasion were generous and noble, and the composition talented, amounting to this: "Oh! remember, that if I have fallen far short in duty, the measure of my love hath been full;" but in my judgment both it and the breakfast were out of place. I did not recover my fatigue the whole day, and felt almost as great a dislike to the plantation walk and reading, as I did to the *study* at the EDWARDS'. At eleven we sat down to an excellent breakfast of soup, meat, et cet.; afterwards the apprentices were all admitted into the parlour to see their master; it was a holiday for the purpose. He spoke to them one by one; the conversation being in Dutch was lost to us, but the interview was affecting; the apprentices had evidently been much neglected. V. R. saw that their appearance did not do credit to his wishes; there were present of "the halt, the blind, and the lame;" their naked backs, and the mothers with naked infants, standing in the presence of V. R., his lady, and two daughters, formed a contrast which can only be met with in

the West Indies. V. R. never flogged a slave; never had a runaway; yet his estate nets five thousand pounds per annum. During the day we examined the steam engine and the machinery attached; also the coffee logé, which is an extensive building, suitable for winnowing, picking, storing, and packing the coffee. Apprentices prefer living on coffee plantations, as they are freed from heavy field work, in grubbing cane holes; and picking ripe coffee is not laborious under the shade of the forest trees. The following morning we bid adieu to this interesting family, re-entered the boat, and were set down at the adjoining estate below, (the Brothers) where we breakfasted. The estate is under the management of a very agreeable intelligent young man, whom we had met at George Town. Estates have generally choice names; thus—the three here adjoining, are Love, Children, Brothers, and nearer Berbice is Providence; the mind can easily form a truism from these materials, as the following:—it is well for Children to be grateful to a kind Providence, and to Love their Brothers. If all the appliances of estates could be converted into profitable axioms as easily as their sweet sounding names, it would be very gratifying. It happened to be court day for this and several adjoining estates; after breakfast the manager from Love estate and others arrived, and their apprentices came forward to be tried. The Special Magistrate took his seat, opened his case book,

and took down the depositions; previous to this, the manager from Love had ridden off, having no love for J. S.; he could say with WILLIAM PENN, "I have seen thee, but d'ont like thee." The complaints brought forward were chiefly for neglect of work; thus—one apprentice complained of illness, he was sent to Dr. H. at Amsterdam for his advice; the doctor being out, he had to wait, and thus the day was lost. Some cases were deferred, and some of the punishments J. S. said were illegal, and boldly maintained his ground, though the court was sitting; words were at one time quite high enough for my comfort. I was pleased with the behaviour of the apprentices; their countenances were placid, whilst those of their accusers expressed malice and revenge. The negros made a good defence, from what I could judge, imperfectly understanding them. The tyranny of this apprenticeship is really detestable. The sick house on this estate was creditable; there was no prevalent disease amongst the negros at that time; one poor woman was afflicted with an ulcerative disease of the face. An arched vault before the front door attracted my attention. I imagined it covered a cistern; but on a little door being opened, it disclosed two confined chambers, with just room to sit, and air enough to breathe, admitted from without; these were the dark holes, not much used now that the negros are approaching the light of a better day.

We had an opportunity here of seeing the trooly leaf; a schooner was unloading a cargo of them, it had brought from the Essequibo. Troolies grow on the banks of that river, springing direct from the roots like sedges; they are solid heavy leaves, twenty feet long and two broad, and are used for covering negro huts, et cet., answering two purposes,—that of excluding the rain and the sun's rays; which latter, through a thin covering like shingles, make small apartments oppressively close.

We were then kindly accommodated with a gig, and drove to Providence estate, where Mrs. W. was residing, it being the property of her son-in-law H.—, who was also present. This is a noble sugar estate, exporting, if I am correct, five hundred hogsheads per annum; one rick of magass, stored up for fuel on this estate, was upwards of eighty yards long. Before dinner we walked to the extensive negro village, opposite the great house on the other side the road; it forms three sides of a parallelogram; many of the cottages are new, with separate apartments. Mr. H. said he had never been into them before, but was evidently pleased with their creditable appearance, and so were we. J. S. however remarked, "I have something also against thee;" this something is the following:—Mr. H. bought Fribourg estate, with the apprentices; he removed the apprentices to Over Winning, three and-a-half miles from Providence. Having obtained the

apprentices, which was his object, he re-sold Fribourg; he then wished them to walk three and-a-half miles to Providence, to work there, and return at night. Providence is a sugar estate; they had been brought from a coffee estate; and knowing this proceeding was contrary to the Imperial Act, they refused to work. H. applied to the Special Magistrate; he could not help him. H. insists on his right, and has applied to the Governor, and here the matter rests.*

Mr. H. also mentioned another annoyance; he had lost a valuable apprentice; the man had purchased his liberty for forty pounds; H. valued him at one hundred and fifty pounds. Now the negro had come into his possession since the Abolition Act by purchase; of course he knew the man retained the power of redeeming himself. Suppose for a moment this negro had proved idle and worthless, how glad H. would have been to be released of him for twenty or thirty pounds. Planters by thus overvaluing the clever and upright, and making it difficult for them to purchase their liberty, hold out a strong inducement for idleness and worthlessness. Amongst the negroes at Providence I saw the disease termed yaws; it

* The Imperial Act forbids the removal of apprentices, except with the consent of two Justices, who must believe it to be for the benefit of the negroes. Negroes are strongly attached to their huts; VAN ROSSUM mentioned to me a case of an apprentice, who had hung himself, to prevent his removal from one estate to another.

attacks infants and young children ; is an eruptive disease not unlike small pox in its characters ; very infectious, and often fatal ; there is some difficulty in the treatment of it, because infants cannot be separated from their mothers, and sent into the sick house. Some of the negros were busy making Cassava bread ; the meal was spread over a hot bake-stone without being formed into a paste ; in a short time it agglutinated together, was turned, and taken off, in appearance like oat cake, forming a valuable article of diet ; it is the root which is prepared. There are two species of Cassava, (*jatropha manihot*,) one sweet, and one poisonous ; the poisonous matter exists in the juice or sap of the root ; this is expressed out after the root is crushed and grated ; the liquor is not thrown away, but boiled, which destroys its noxious qualities, and it then becomes a valuable article of trade, forming the chief ingredient in the celebrated Dutch pepper pot : this is a conglomerated savoury dish of different meats and spices ; it is brought to table in an iron pot with a ladle, and is thus used as a seasoning for other things. The pepper pot's glory is, in never being exhausted, fresh additions supplying the continual waste ; these additions are not made known : a little *monkey* is said to be connected with the true pepper pot principle : and I understand there are Dutch petter pots in the colony which are never exhausted, having been restored by fresh renewals from the time the colony was established.

From the materials of the pepper pot not being generally known, a joke is current, that a monkey's head makes part and parcel of the same. Negros are remarkable for their skill in the art *cuisine*, without the needful requisites. A wooden tub, pestle, and two or three platters, being sufficient. The kitchen at our lodgings, in Stabroek, had the appearance of a blacksmith's shop; with the same kind of fire hearth, and not a plate visible. Dr. B—— told me he bought all the culinary apparatus of Dr. S—— for twenty-one shillings, when the latter sold his moveables, previous to a visit to England.

After dining sociably with Mrs. W. and some of her children, and enjoying her conversation, we returned again to our lodgings. An interesting occurrence has taken place here: four slaves, carpenters, from Surrinam, have made their escape across the Corantyn river, and succeeded in reaching Berbice after grievous hardships. They applied to Mr. C. for tickets of freedom; being on English territory, these were granted to them, and they were quickly engaged at one dollar each per diem: this was not preferring idleness to labour, though a day before they were degraded slaves. They said numbers would escape, but the Dutch cordon being very watchful rendered it difficult. One of them was much injured from ill-treatment whilst a slave. All the community seemed to rejoice in the happy change of circumstances for these negros: and we felt proud of our country;

though near four thousand miles distant from the seat of government.

The apprentices suffer here from a cause which ought to be remedied. There has been a scarcity of silver coin; (and copper coin is not used;) the store-keepers and planters to meet the want, have circulated bits of paper, from three stivers upwards, made payable at the stores; the signature is soon effaced in this climate, and then it is said, the parties refuse taking the paper up; and when an individual dies, there is the same difficulty with the trustees, as occurred in the case of —. It is the custom to pay the apprentices for over time, with these defaced scraps of paper; the negroes having no clothes on, have no pockets for its safety; and enclosed in the hand, all vestige of writing is soon lost; if they take it home, it is very liable to be displaced; and thus the poor apprentices, after laborious work, are paid with trash, which really represents nothing. This paper is in daily circulation; I have some of it by me, and I am confident no Birmingham merchant could tell what it is. Money in British Guiana is estimated in Dutch currency, conjoined with Spanish; fifteen stivers, one guilder; three guilders, one dollar; twenty-two guilders, one joe; sixteen dollars, one doubloon. The pound currency is twelve shillings sterling.

George Town, 1st., Month 20th.

A few days since I left J. S. at Berbice, and returned to George Town, on my way to Barbadoes, that I may avail myself of my letter of credit. Our experience was similar to Dr. MADDEN'S: "We found the fat of our own land oozing out at our fingers' ends, and the acquisition of the fat of the new land, draining our purses, with wonderful quickness to their bottoms." J. S. became deeply interested in several investigations, and wished to devote a little more time to them; he hopes to join me at Barbadoes, and thence we proceed to Jamaica, to meet JOSEPH STURGE, who was disappointed at our tarrance in Demerara beyond six weeks, as at first proposed.* I had not an agreeable passage back to George Town in the dispatch boat; as it conveyed one of the Judges, and he chose to have the cabin to himself; but happily we came by day; if it had been otherwise, the night would have been spent most unpleasantly, in the hold of the vessel, amongst cock roaches, which towards evening had fine runnings and scamperings. I have paid my farewell visit to J. KETLEY, and to the SOUTHEYS,

* Soon after, I left George Town, for Barbadoes, the quarantine laws, on account of small pox, prevented admission at the latter place; and afterwards the yellow fever broke out in Demerara, which continued them. J. S. had no other alternative than staying in Demerara; though his friends were falling around him, he was favoured with tolerable health, and some months afterwards embarked direct for Bristol, and reached home in safety.

whose kindness is indelibly impressed on my mind. HERBERT SOUTHEY kindly procured me some specimens in Ornithology; the only return I could make was to set up a few specimens for him, as mementos of my visit. The noisiest bird in George Town is a species of fly-catcher, (*musci-capa cayanensis*,) from its note, called kis-ke-dis; it is as lively as the English sparrow; flitting about, and repeating the three syllables in a very distinct, shrill tone; its plumage is elegant, back brown, crown and breast yellow: the most numerous is the black witch, its plumage accords with its name, its tale is long, like the English magpie; the upper mandible rises as high as the crown of the head, tapering to a sharp edge; its flight is a jerk from one bush to another; and its note is a melancholy whine, something like the name. It feeds upon lizards and worms, and therefore is seldom molested; consequently is very tame, allowing the stranger to approach within a couple of yards. I had not the opportunity of seeing any wild animals, except the three-toed sloth, which is in my possession, the acouri, and a species of crabo dago, or crab dog. Butterflies are numerous, but the red ants quickly destroyed some I procured; these insects swarm up stairs and down: no sooner is any thing eatable laid by, than they assemble from all quarters, an innumerable host. Exactly contrary to musquitoes, they attack the dead, the latter the living.

The Governor's secretary granted me a passport

without advertising, on payment of the fee; and my departure for Barbadoes is at hand. I shall carry forward this letter to put in the Post Office at Bridge Town.

Since returning from Berbice, another ball has been given near my lodgings and the second edition was quite equal to the first, in the very piercing and deep sounding notes which the negros supplied throughout the night, to every page of occurring incident. The invitations are pretty general, so that families may go to the fountain head of bustle and confusion, and avoid having the disturbance, as it were, second hand, at their own dwellings.

Barbadoes, 1st. Month, 27th.

The *Mary Elizabeth* schooner, brought me safely here in a little more than three days; I am not yet sailor enough to be sickless in a schooner; the pitching is so continuous, that my stomach keeps time, and heaves with emotion; however, I rallied and much enjoyed the sight of purer waters. Green seas are very refreshing to the eye in a tropical climate; not so the discoloured streams on the main: the Demerara and Berbice rivers, conveyed to my mind an impression of molten metal, or liquid fire; and had no power of tempering my heated blood.

I learn that JOSEPH STURGE, and THOMAS HARVEY have proceeded to Jamaica, unable to wait longer for us. I shall follow them, though not

directly, wishing to see a little of some other islands, on my way. As the mail is making up I must conclude.

I remain, &c.

LETTER VIII.

Barbadoes, 1st. Month, 29th., 1837.

MY DEAR F——R.

I HAVE spent several days agreeably on this island, in complimentary appellation frequently called "Little England," being the nearest to the mother country, and having adopted many of its customs; the oldest colony, and of undoubted loyalty; healthy in character, and the most advanced in cultivation, by a successful rotation of crops. The beasts of burthen on the estates are chiefly oxen, they are small and remarkably lean; numbers supply the place of bulk and size. Twelve oxen, yoked to a huge unwieldy wagon, is a common sight in Bridge Town; the employment of them on plantations has answered where practised. Cane fields have to be prepared similar to the drill culture of fields for turnips: the soil is hoed, or ploughed up, into straight deep ridges. When planted the cane joints are placed in the furrows, and lightly covered over. Cane holes is, therefore, a wrong term; and it is ridging the field with heavy hoes, (termed digging cane holes) which has greatly oppressed the negros. This operation

can be well performed by cattle, and when free labour succeeds to forced, will, I hope, be more generally adopted. We entered Carlisle Bay, from Demerara, at mid-day ; having, during our approach, a fine view of the island ; the ground rises gradually behind Bridge Town ; is sprinkled with white houses, and ornamented with straggling cocoa and cabbage palms ; the surface had lost the green hue, which graced it a few weeks before. It was now harvest time, and many canes had been cut ; the brown hue of the country contrasted unfavourably with the endless green of Demerara. In vegetation Demerara is vastly superior to Barbadoes, but as to its waters equally inferior. Round these coral shores, they are of a deep deep blue, refreshing to the eye and invigorating to the spirits ; down by those muddy banks, they are browner than the "heathery hill," and impurer than old "Father Thames." It delighted me again to behold the tropical blue sea : in the tropics a European eye wishes to indulge its vision on nature's gayer scenes, to feed upon beauties wherever it may wander ; whether ascending to the heavens above, or descending to the waters beneath. The Sabbath after my return, I heard Bishop COLERIDGE preach a charity sermon on behalf of the education of coloured children ; he evidently spoke from a pious heart, and it was congenial to my feelings, to know this interesting portion of the rising generation had so able an advocate. We ought to rejoice in education being

encouraged ; how different it is in the American slave-states. As the children went by to Church, I was conversing with a young American, from Savannah, in Georgia, who is here for his health ; “education,” said he, “is forbidden, as regards the negros, with us ; and if a white man opened a Sunday School, or supported a day one at his own expense, he would be imprisoned and tried ; and for the second offence banished, or possibly hung.’”

Through my intelligent acquaintance P——, I became acquainted with several colored gentlemen of acquirement and talent. At times the conversation was painfully interesting, proving the strong bias of colonial management to be very partial, in favour of the whites ; the disposal of the grant from Parliament, for the hurricane of 1831, had been unsatisfactory. This grant, I understood, was one hundred thousand pounds, of which seventy thousand pounds were allotted to Barbadoes : it is said, that the party intrusted, wrote home, desirous of knowing how it was to be disposed of : the reply from Government was, bestow it on the poor and destitute : after this the distribution took place ; thirty-eight thousand pounds were therefore allotted to dilapidated churches, et cet., and the remainder, or the greater part, divided amongst wealthy planters : that such an appropriation is accordant with the literal meaning of poor and destitute is yet doubted. I visited one of the schools for coloured children, in company

with T. H——, who kindly drove me along the bay towards the fort, and round by the barracks, which are delightfully situated a mile from the town on elevated ground. Carlisle Bay, with its pure blue waters, spreads out below, enlivened with sufficient shipping to vary the scene, and to give it the character of a maritime port. On another occasion I dined in company with an elderly gentleman, who had abstained from all fermented liquors for many years; this was an interesting fact in the tropics, where there is such a prejudice against pure water; brandy, madeira wine, London porter, and Scotch ale being in repute. My experience in this matter, as regards the tropics is, where there is delicacy of constitution, wine need only be used as a medicinal adjunct; and, where the constitution is vigorous, total abstinence may be safely and advantageously practised.

Bridge Town and the neighbourhood show many evidences of the last fearful hurricane in roofless houses and shattered tenements; from this liability, no spires gracefully shoot on high, the cathedral only having a low square tower. The hurricanes take place in the 7th, 8th and 9th months; on these occasions ships try to get to sea, the bay lying so open and exposed, they are otherwise in danger of stranding on the shore, which north of the town is composed of broken coral and madrepore. I had also here the first opportunity of examining a wind mill crushing canes; for this purpose there

are three perpendicular rollers, one being in the centre; the fresh cane is drawn in between two, and by a screen behind, the magass is directed between the other two edges, and falls down before the door to be carried away; the feeding only occupies one pair of hands; the carrying cane into the mill several. Barbadoes is noted for its excellent quality of sugar, owing to the superior cultivation and care in its manufacture; on the other hand, sugars from Demerara are in general coarse in quality. Bridge Town derives its name from a bridge over a small stream, which here empties itself into the bay; the wharfs extend up to the bridge, alongside which sloops and vessels of small burden are moored; row boats are always waiting for hire, whilst others are going to or returning from ships in the bay; so that the scene is lively. The author of "The Wanderings" makes the following observation:—"There was another thing which added to the dulness of Barbadoes, and which seems to have considerable effect in keeping away strangers from the island. The legislature had passed a most extraordinary bill, by virtue of which every person who arrives at Barbadoes is obliged to pay two dollars, and two dollars more on his departure from it. It is called the Alien Bill; and every Barbadian who leaves or returns to the island, and every Englishman too, pays the tax." The money on leaving is paid for the passport; the amount is of less consequence than the time requisite to procure it, the

name of the party applying having to be advertised three weeks. My young American friend only intending to stay one week on the island, called upon the Governor's Secretary, and was told he could not have a passport in less than three weeks; the consequence was, he went amongst the vessels in the bay, to find some American captain to befriend him, and succeeded. My intention was only to stay a few days; and this three weeks showing up in the newspapers prevented my applying for a passport; I thought my Demerara one might be made to answer.

Every law passed for general application, and which can never apply, is ridiculous; this is one. All passengers by the mail packet staying a night or two on their way to other islands, set it at nought, and yet the captains of the vessels by which they leave subject themselves to a penalty.

I did not visit the gaol again, my curiosity was over indulged on a previous occasion; the scenes of that day were often before me, and too strongly impressed ever to be erased.

St. Thomas, 2nd Month, 10th.

The northern mail boat by which I left Barbadoes had been in quarantine on account of small pox in some of the northern islands, where it had touched on its previous voyage. In embarking, myself and others were exchanged from the health officers' boat, to that of the mail boat which came to meet us, and thus a step as it were placed us under the ban of prohibition. In the one boat we

were esteemed healthy and fit company for the Barbadians ; in the other we were denounced as of the infected, and the governor himself could not have restored us to the shore till we had fulfilled our quarantine, so sudden is the change of situation in this eventful life ; however the anchor was quickly raised apeak, and away we went, hoping to meet with friendly sills and floors, though "little England" closed her coral doors.

I left Barbadoes in company with a captain of engineers, his lady and servant, and another gentleman, for St. Kitt's ; two gentlemen on their way to Porto Rico, who had come out by the last mail packet, and who did not choose to await its onward route. The Falmouth mail packets stop at Barbadoes a week before sailing north, to collect the island letters and receive the Jamaica mail at St. Thomas's : the mail boats sailing the day after the arrival of the English mails, allows one week for the letters to be received and answered : this regulation facilitates correspondence admirably. In this trip of four hundred miles and upwards, we had plenty of variety ; I may as well enter a little into particulars. The quarrelling of our captain with his crew very soon attracted my attention ; I had noticed similar behaviour in coming from Demerara ; the cause is obvious. The captains are white men, the crew free blacks or apprentices ; the former are prejudiced against the negroes ; are continually scolding and accusing them of being stupid ; from this

continued irritation, the blacks at times become obstinate: much allowance is, however, to be made for them on account of their peculiar situation; for instance, the mail boat service, and I should think there was none more generous, allows to each of the crew ten dollars per month, one pound of beef, one pound of flour per diem. Out of these ten dollars the master of an apprentice claims eight, leaving the poor tar two; who thus works half starved day and night, whilst another man pockets his benefit; the tallest and most effective of our crew is one of this description belonging to the harbour master of Bridge Town. In 1831 this negro had a narrow escape; he was exposed to the dreadful hurricane of that year, in a vessel which was lost; he was then a powerful man, and clung to some part of the wreck, on which he was exposed to the ocean for several days exhausted with hunger; he was picked up at the last extremity, to eke out his life with other extremities, first as a slave, now as an apprentice. We left Barbadoes in the evening; the weather became squally, and we soon took to our berths, the motion of a schooner in a heavy sea being very unsettling. The best cabin was given up to the captain of engineers, his lady, and servant; the rest contenting themselves with the second, occupied by luggage and cockroaches; which commodities were unrestrained and the former especially changed positions with every lurch of the vessel, banging chorusses to the

moveables on deck. Our skipper's voice rose louder and louder as night advanced, till he quite lost command of his temper, declaring the crew would not obey him even when the ship was in danger. We lay listening to the effects of anger above and clangor below, and became alarmed, the quarrelling on deck by midnight having assumed a more wrathful tone than that of the boisterous elements. At last some one of the crew would bear his ill treatment no longer, and boldly confronted the skipper, who at once sued for mercy: "O! d'ont touch me, you know I am your master, I am your captain; d'ont touch me." We thought below that they were about throwing him overboard, and fully expected a catastrophe. The two recently arrived Europeans repented of their position, reflecting on their voyage out by the *Falmouth Packet*, on which scarcely a needless word was said during the voyage. Sick and sleepless was that distressing night, and as morning dawned, I ascended thoughtfully to the deck; we were then approaching St. Lucia, upborne on troubled waves.

The island had a magnificent, yet fantastic appearance; its mountains were clothed with trees to their summits, conical in their outline; at times they "were in the dumps, and pulled the clouds over their noses, and would not let us have even a peep at their high mightinesses." Dr. JAMES JOHNSON says, "to see Corrivrechan in high feather, with the sense of terror added to the

sublimity of the scene, it would be necessary to drift into the vortex during a storm, and flood tide ;” and so the approach to St. Lucia should be through a storm, when the winds and vapors are in wild career about the mountain sides. Ever and anon the pitons, or sugar loaves showed their pointed cones above the rolling masses, bedecked with trees to their utmost verge : this sight was of novel interest. Ben Nevis, Ben Lomond, Plynlmmon, and Snowden, are majestically naked ; but the arrowy cones of St. Lucia, nourish their towering evergreens, and allow not the vales to surpass them in verdure. We soon entered Castries Bay, and loosed anchor ; the Captain took the mail ashore ; I should have had time to walk through the town, but omitted accompanying him, from a feeling of nausea and unfitness. Our skipper returned, and we made sail, but here a new difficulty arose ; we had cast anchor in the narrow entrance, and when again under way, the vessel had not room to sheer round to the wind, but drifted towards the rocks ; the anchor was again let go, and on our swinging round again, raised, to no good purpose ; as soon as the anchor was up we drifted towards the pitons. An increase to our difficulty arose from our having no capstan or windlass, and the heavy anchor took all the crew to raise it, whereas some should have been at the sails.

A dilemma seemed approaching, I kindly roused one of the passengers from a comfortable sleep,

to an uncomfortable alarm ; put my sovereigns in my pocket, and stretched my arms for a swim ; we tried once more, one passenger took possession of the wheel, others helped at the anchor, and sails ; the jib happily caught the breeze, which steadied the prow, turning us round, and then we dashed out ; we had escaped without touching, and concluded that we were much better off, than fighting sharks in their notorious haunt of Castries harbour.

The wind continued high, and we breasted the main boldly, and swiftly to Martinique, another mountainous and picturesque island, belonging to the French. We had to leave a mail here, the English packets carrying the French letters. The towns on the different Islands are situated on the leeward or western side, and the mountains being lofty, vessels approaching are becalmed under their lee ; our sailing had a character from this circumstance. A fine ten knot breeze hurried us on to Martinique, but when under its mountain shades, our progress was not more than perceptible. We expected to reach St. Pierre, the capital, by two P. M., whereas it was nine ; we could just descry the diamond rock, so humourously described by COLERIDGE, in his "Six Months ;" but on entering St. Pierre's roadstead, from the darkness, only lamps were to be seen, pointing out the town. It would have gratified me to have had an hour's stroll through the streets, and I un-

willingly gave it up. Our Europeans shortened their journey by going ashore; they were disheartened from the difficulties we encountered.

Our Captain having delivered his bags, returned, and we ventured on, but in the night had another alarm.- A great disturbance on deck, and preparation to let go the anchor, aroused me. I arose and found we were becalmed under the lee of a lofty hill, and flapping towards it by the swell of the sea; the overhanging shades looked fearful in the night; however, a gully of wind came down the precipitous sides, and gently wafted us onward, and by break of day we were approaching Dominica. Soon after we entered the roadstead, opposite Roseau, where our vessel lay to. I landed, and walked about whilst the Captain delivered his mail. Roseau has the appearance of gone-by prosperity; the streets are well paved, but the grass now disfigures them: it had a French character, and the "habitans" were crowding into the Catholic Chapel, for morning prayers. The scenery around was as romantic as can be imagined, highlands of perennial verdure forming the back ground. The barracks are imposingly situated on an eminence, Morne Bruce, overlooking the town. Oranges and other fruits abounded; a papaw was gathered for me, not unlike a melon in size and flavour; the tree, (*Caria papaya*,) grows from twelve to twenty feet high, and has the habit of a palm; the fruit hanging pendent from the top of the stem, under-

neath the crown of leaves. In returning from the shore to our vessel, we passed near another craft; the Captains hailed each other, and on inquiry being made, the stranger told us he was black-bird hunting; that is, he was making the tour of the islands, to engage negros as indented apprentices for Demerara. Great part of the day was occupied in getting from under the lee of Dominica, and then we darted across to Guadeloupe, to be again becalmed: it was dark on reaching Basse Terre, the capital; and I accompanied the Captain, with his poste; we were hailed by a guarda costa, but no delay occurred on landing. I at once thought of Paris, the avenue of tamarind trees, with seats beneath in the principal street, reminded me of the Boulevards; and my eyes were cheered with a fountain of water playing, ever ready to refresh the thirsty loungeur. After delivering the letter bag to a polite and obliging post master, whom we aroused from bed, we pushed off in our gig, hailed our schooner, but were again laggard on our way, checked by mountain influence; we again reached the strait, and shot across to St. John's Antigua, entering its beautiful harbour in the afternoon. The bay is spacious and well fortified, but the island was inferior in appearance, to those we had passed. I had sufficient time to see the town; its situation is pleasant, gently rising from the Bay, with the summit crowned by the Church, from which there is a delightful prospect. At

seven P.M. we left Antigua, and ran through a wild sea to Plymouth, the capital of Montserrat; here we lay to for the night, the landing being unsafe in the dark; this was comfortless. The helm was lashed, sail was set to steady the vessel, the crew went to sleep, and the vessel drifted to sea. After heavy rain, we had another fine morning, and leaving our mail, hastened by Redondo, to Nevis and St. Kitts, which are in sight of each other, separated by the Narrows and Booby Island. Nevis has a different character from St. Lucia, having only one towering imposing summit, and that not feathered and arrowy: it is hollowed out like a saddle, and bleakly towers aloft; it was once a noisy crater, but is now a silent mountain. There are mineral springs, and a bathing establishment on this island; and Charles Town, its capital, though mean to walk through, looks tolerably well from the Bay. We were not detained long here, our swan-like schooner soon ploughed the Narrows, and we entered the open roadstead of St. Kitt's, the same afternoon: several ships were at anchor. We landed through a boisterous surf, which at times, renders the landing and shipping of goods difficult; the boats used for the purpose are peculiar, being very deep; the negroes push them down through the waves, and when fairly afloat, jump in.

Basse Terre is the capital of St. Kitts; we staid some time, our other passengers landing here, and having considerable luggage to embark. The

houses are in general poor buildings with paintless shutters or jalousies, devoid of glass. It possesses one fine open square ; the trees however were decrepid, and the centre plot neglected and brown. The handsomest building I saw was the Methodist meeting house ; every window and door were open ; no one was by. I walked in and over it ; the Bible lay on the pulpit desk, apparently safe as the chapel itself ; I concluded there could not be much dishonesty here amongst the "goods and chattels." The church windows were also open, close adjoining ; the buildings stand near enough for the congregations to be annoyed at each other's singing. The small pox has recently raged in St. Kitts, of which the grave yard was evidence ; this may have given rise to an extra ventilation for places of worship ; the community had suffered much from the epidemic which was spreading rapidly through the other islands.

At sun-set we were again on our way ; I was the only passenger left, and felt lonely at the change. It was a fine evening, and I had time and inclination to look around and contemplate the scene ; on my left was Nevis's towering crater cone, and on my right, close at hand, were the golden cain slopes and plains of St. Kitts, gradually ascending inland, till a wilderness of trees occupied the place of wind mills and plantations ; then more abruptly the hills arose, dimmed and belted by congregating vapors, and higher yet again, to where Mount Misery's awful summit stood pre-

eminent and alone : how natural with other thoughts to recal Columbus, when sailing by the island named "Christopher" by himself; and how appropriate the comparison, for he had also, his savannahs of promise, his cane fields of hope, and his Mount Misery looking over all; which, rising higher and higher, its awful crag became the principal object of his vision, and at last overwhelmed him.

In the morning we passed the Dutch islands St. Eustatia and Saba, and at noon entered amongst the group of Virgin Islands, so named by Columbus, in honour of the eleven thousand virgins in the Romish Ritual. The derivation should be known, for they have little beauty, chiefly boasting of an assemblage of naked rocks, and therefore not graceful enough to compare with the beautiful faces of England, or even of Queen Elizabeth, in honour of whom some have thought the name was given by Sir Francis Drake. Virgin Gorda, Anagada, Tortola, and others, belong to the English; the mail was left at Tortola, and we entered a spacious and secure harbour; on our right was a negro village running up the mountain sides; it is occupied by the cargo of a slave vessel; they were liberated by the British Government, and are under its protection. I heard nothing unfavourable of the experiment. I was pleased with the slight opportunity I had of seeing Tortola; the town is prettily embayed, the residences comfortable, and the negro market women lively and

amusing. The harvest was progressing at the different islands as we passed, and the cane fields were luxuriant in appearance, especially at St. Kitts. The wind again filled our sails, and we entered the harbour of the Danish island St. Thomas, in the evening ; our desired haven. St. Thomas is striking ; the approach is through a narrow strait, defended by forts, which spreads out into a very spacious land locked bay ; a regular well built town fronts the entrance. It was dusk when we cast anchor in front of the wharfs ; the town was dimly seen, but the lights from the houses and in the streets shone brightly, straggling up the mountain sides.

“ Many a row
Of starry lamps, and blazing cressets, fed
With Naphtha, and Asphaltus, yielded light,
As from a sky.”

It is built upon three small hills, jutting out from and forming the basement of a lofty mountain, in the immediate back ground. This island formerly belonged to the Buccaneers ; and a residence, having something of the appearance of a fort, is still known as Blue Beard's. Great part of the town has within a few years been rebuilt substantially with stone ; it was destroyed by conflagration, with which the negros are charged. I here bid adieu to our little, active, skilful mail boat skipper ; he was a native of Cornwall, and was ploughing the Caribbean seas as offering greater

gain than the European waters ; he was impetuous and completely lost his authority with his crew the first stormy night ; afterwards he reinstated himself, and his kindness and attention to his passengers were such as to insure him a remembrance when wide spread seas divide. On parting he requested my passport, I gave him the only one I had, viz., that from Demerara ; he looked surprised, and said it would not avail him ; I answered that I could not have procured another without staying three weeks at Barbadoes ; and as I had only landed a few days before, and was desirous of sailing under his nautical skill, I thought the old one would suffice, as there would be no claim upon him, unless I had left in debt ; he acknowledged the difficulty, and smiled acquiescence. On inquiry no vessel offered for Jamaica ; from Jamaica to St. Thomas's there is a steamer every fortnight, but it proceeds along the chain of islands to Barbadoes, and thence direct to Jamaica in a continuous course. St. Thomas, therefore, has no direct conveyance to Jamaica ; my remedy was to wait patiently awhile, and in the mean time to visit Santa Cruz, which also belongs to the Danes ; for this purpose I procured a passport, and am on the point of departure. Santa Cruz is only forty miles or thereabout from St. Thomas ; nevertheless, all who pass and repass between the two islands, resident or not, buy a two dollar passport every time ; on the same principle an eight shilling passport

office might be established between Liverpool and Dublin, but it could not be acted on for a day. Why should there not be the same free intercourse between the Colonial subjects of a power, as between individuals at the immediate seat of Government?

I remain, &c.

LETTER IX.

Santa Cruz, 2nd. Month, 19th., 1827.

MY DEAR F——R.

I came over here as I intended in the *West End Packet*, a commodious and swift sailing clipper built schooner, having an American captain with a crew of slaves. The vessel is their only home. The merchant owning the packet has bought slaves to work it; they are placed upon the craft, never to leave it without permission; they are a young, active crew, but the austerity of their captain is enough to freeze the current of their humanity.

Santa Cruz is fifteen miles across from east to west, each of which shores has a town,—Christiansted and Fredericksted, more commonly called Bass End and West End; the former is the residence of the Governor. I am staying at West End, where I found comfortable quarters, at E——'s boarding house. The town is very full of American invalids, who resort here to shun the rigours of their own climate. Santa Cruz acquires many features from this congregating; families of great respectability arrange their

houses for boarders, and they are presided over by the uncoloured ; in the English islands, at the head of boarding departments, there must be colour : such an occupation is menial and degrading for the whites. In Santa Cruz the *amor nummi* has pushed aside this difficulty ; and there is so great an arrival of moneyed American invalids every season, that the uncoloured have thought well to share the harvest, and thus our table is presided over by Erin's own, a native of Dublin. At the present time there are two hundred American visitors, invalids with their companions ; there is something melancholy in this assemblage ; almost weekly some of them die, and the frequent burials harrow deeply the feelings of the survivors. Our hostess only took in boarders, for the first time, a few months since, yet she has lost two of her guests, and another young man is in a hopeless state. A lady who is attending a sick husband told me, "she wished she had never seen the island, for there was nothing but sorrow ;" truly may it be said, that every where, "*sunt lacrymæ rerum ; et mentem mortalia tangunt.*" The number of American invalids, who have this season laid down their mortal remains in Santa Cruz, is fifteen ; so that there is a void in many parties : when the hour of death arrives, Santa Cruz can no more bind up the mortal coil, than the wilds of Nova Zembla ; in sunny favoured climes, as on the most inhospitable shores, a moment arrives in which, "*red-*

enda est terra terræ.” The inducements for a sojourn at Santa Cruz, are the temperature not rising higher than 82° in the shade, at this season of the year; the excellent roads, which throughout the island, cannot be surpassed; the easy access to America; the conveniences to accommodate invalids in poney gigs, for hire; the reasonable expense of ten dollars per week for board; and the general character of the town and country residents, which is that of the utmost friendliness and kindness. There is one drawback (charges for burial) which affects the survivors, though applying to the dead; the following is a copy of them:—

	Dollars.	Cents.
Recording death ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	6	4
Informing the public of the death ~ ~ ~	8	0
Attendance of Warden ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	4	0
Permit for grave ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	6	40
Digging the grave ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	4	0
Clerk ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	3	20
Minister reading service 16 dollars, if he preaches ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	32	0
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total ~ ~ ~	63	64
	<hr/>	<hr/>

Amounting to twelve guineas for the right of interment: this kingly charge disgusts the Americans; they dislike becoming a prey to royalty after death, now that their private and public states are secured from the annoyance. With some abatement, owing to numerous spittoons in the sitting rooms, and the frequent use made of them, either from habit or necessity, I am re-

ceiving a large amount of satisfaction in this visit. West End is prettily situated in the centre of an open bay, round which is a crescent of cocoa palms; the town peers underneath their towering plumes, and canes behind crown the very summits of the modest hills; an excellent road follows the curvatures of the shore; the eminences are the sites for the great houses, substantial and convenient, near which cluster the slave cottages; huts they are not, but stone dwellings, white washed, and ornamental to the estates. If walking on the shore, the idler may watch the brown pelican (*pelecanus fuscus*,) successfully practise his expertness as a fisher, rising thirty or forty feet above the water; onward he flies with a steady downcast eye beneath, until some finny prey appears; forthwith he darts with an impetus which carries him beneath; anew he spurns the wave, makes no boast of success, but extending his feathery arms, moves on well poised again. This method of fishing, midway between netting and harpooning, may be termed the snap-dragon, or rather snap-pelican principle; far behind is man with his bobbing, his worming, and live-bait trolling: nature's fisherman practises no cruelty, not even allowing the struggles of his victim to be seen. Compassion should always go hand in hand with humanity, and cruelty be avoided. When the mind is endowed with the love of nature, and with admiration of its wonders, it investigates them, without needlessly inflicting pain.

“One classed the quadrupeds, and one the fowls ;
Another found in minerals his joy ;
And I have seen a man, a worthy man,
In happy mood conversing with a fly ;
And as he, through his glass, made by himself,
Beheld its wondrous eye and plumage fine,
From leaping scarce he kept, for perfect joy.”

On the shore are innumerable small crabs, exploring *terra firma* ; and when some great unknown disturbs the explorists, off they scamper in the most amusing manner, not with backs turned, as is the wont of fear, but sidling, as if to bully the giant and throw a slight ridicule on his boasted laws of progression. Wagon loads of conches lie whispering echoes to sea born sounds, brought by the murmuring tides ; these are thrown away after the fish are extracted, and treated as carelessly, as our cockle shells ; the variety in their delicate tints is pleasing to look upon. This pleasant isle has also other attractions ; hospitality opens the way for them. Invalids in their walks or rides call at the neighbouring estates, acquaint themselves with the process of sugar making ; explore the gardens to look at the different culture of fruits ; visit the boiling-houses, to feast upon sling,* and enjoying the agrèmens

* Sling is the inspissated boiled syrup, which adheres to the side of the spout, leading to the crystallizing vat ; it is very adhesive and thick, and being free from all the cavernous impurities of molasses, is approved of by the negros, and recommended by them as palatable and salubrious ; my opinion quickly accorded with theirs. (See Letter V., page 53.)

around, endeavour to lessen the ailments of the body. Awaiting a conveyance to Jamaica, I am here in the meantime settling down into the domestic arrangements of invalids; and if my looks were not counteractive, should doubtless receive much pity as I walk about; great is my present comparative comfort, free from the malice of the *Guiana Chronicle*, from the surmises of some and the shyness of many, I am again a member of a social circle; all anxious to mitigate each other's inconveniences, and to lighten the weariness of absence from the domestic hearth; bound by a strong tie of friendly feeling, the remaining links becoming stronger and stronger, as individual ones slip away.

Fellow countrymen on a foreign shore are united in a very close bond of sympathy and friendship; this was well evinced here the other day. The *Emily* packet ship sailing for Savannah, a number of Americans more under the influence of *nostalgia* than of real disease, embraced the opportunity of embarking for the States. The ship weighed anchor in the afternoon, and previously to this the small boats took the company on board; the pier whence they were departing was crowded with Americans, bidding adieu to their countrymen; the sickly of many stages were present, those on whom consumption had fixed a stamp of certain doom, and others who yet hoped to undermine the insidious enemy. I mixed with the throng, and for a moment wished to be an

American, that I might indulge with others, those hallowed feelings of friendship, which earthly trials do but endear. I looked upon the pallid faces around me, and endeavoured to fathom the feelings of each intellectual, reflective, expressive countenance; the "*chordæ vocales*" were not much in requisition, but, doubtless, there were "hearts which knocked rather harder than usual against the bars of their prisons;" and though generally it may be said, "*lacryma nihil citius arescit*," I believe there were present, especially of the softer sex, some who could acknowledge from experience the parting hour was not easily forgotten; feeling the truth of Dr. JOHNSON'S assertion, "there are few things of which we can say, it is the last, without emotions of sorrow:" the present moment was separating those who were experiencing,—

"Oh! when my friend and I,
 In some thick wood have wandered heedless on,
 Hid from the vulgar eye, and sat us down
 Upon the sloping cowslip covered bank,
 Where the pure limpid stream has slid along
 In grateful errors through the underwood,
 Sweet murmuring; methought the shrill tongued thrush
 Mended his song of love; the sooty blackbird
 Mellowed his pipe, and softened every note;
 The eglantine smelled sweeter, and the rose
 Assumed a dye more deep; whilst every flower
 Vied with his fellow plant in luxury
 Of dress."

The final moment came, the passengers were all on board, the fore top sail was set, the *Emily*

glided slowly away, as if unwilling too suddenly to break off connection with the shore.

26th. Santa Cruz is devoted to sugar cultivation; there are no mountains, but gently swelling hills, and these have canes to their summits. The produce varies much with the season; generally, for the whole island, it is estimated at twenty five thousand hogsheads; last year a hogshead was worth one hundred and twenty dollars. The present is a very dry season, the produce is not expected to exceed thirteen thousand hogsheads, and the price being reduced to eighty dollars, mercantile gloom is at present felt. I am informed that the King of Denmark receives a greater proportionate revenue from this little spot, than from any other portion of his dominions, arising from an export duty of twelve per cent, and a capitation task. I have spent part of a day with an extensive planter, the brother of our hostess, in the centre of the island; the road led through an avenue of cocoa nut palms, with cane fields on every hand. It being crop time, the wind-mills rotate daily and gaily; the boiling houses are at work, and a luscious fragrance salutes the windward traveller.

I had much interesting conversation. There are fifteen thousand slaves on the island, and the Danish Government extends a degree of parental care towards them. American slave treatment is, in comparison, barbarous and horrid; and even the British apprenticeship does not stand favour-

ably by its side. The gentleman I was visiting told me, no planter could punish a slave beyond confinement, till complained of to the Judge; (two Judges being appointed for the island;) that a pregnant woman cannot be worked at all, in the field, and that mothers cannot be punished in any way, till their infants are weaned at twelve months old. When slaves are sold, they have the liberty of objecting to a new master, and of choosing their own; therefore, when they know they are to be disposed of, they offer themselves to masters of good character, and whom they think they should like. A gang of fifty were at work in a cane field near by; there was great order, quietness, and regularity; it was the occupation of one to supply the others with water, to quench their thirst. The gaol here is within the fort; on visiting it, I found the apartments were all deserted; no prisoners, whilst in health, are kept in close confinement, or tread a mill; they work daily in the penal pang. This gang may be seen in West End, at different occupations; their appearance is degraded and forlorn. Runaways have a chain round their necks, and a heavy stone at the other end; when moving, they hug the stone under one arm, and thus nurse their enemy; others have fetters round their ankles: a driver attends them with a switch in his hand, as a mark of authority. The punishments are awarded by the Judge, who sits daily to hear complaints; they are generally floggings,

or rather scarifyings, with tamarind twigs, which are exceedingly pliant and tough; the place of punishment is the open market place; two were flogged there the other day. I saw one of them receive the infliction; my motive, I trust, was not an innate love of cruelty; the culprit was tied to a tree, with his arms over his head; the striker laid down a bundle of tamarind twigs, picked one out, struck forcibly and slowly at the bare back of the negro, and after a few strokes, changed his broken twig for a fresh one; each stroke was counted, and one hundred were administered; his companion had received one hundred and fifty. The punishment was very severe, and the flesh was lacerated; the poor slave was much distressed, suing for pity during his tying up, and the preparations; but after the first blow, a spirit of firm resolve seemed to sustain him, and, save an occasional moan, accompanied with a look of scorn, he was dumb before his persecutors. The judge also decides disputes which do not relate to the negroes, and his office is open daily to complaints; the community is benefited by sources of irritation being quickly healed; for instance—A young man, one of our boarders, borrowed a double barrelled gun; in firing it off, one of the barrels burst, and shattered the stock; the two parties could not agree upon the value of the fowling piece; they went to the Judge, who gave his decision, the borrower paid his estimate, and the difference ended.

Sunday markets here are in full operation, and barriers are extended across the streets, that the buyers and sellers may not be disturbed; some stores are open, and tailors may be seen at work; and no wonder, since the Judge is employing masons at his house this very sabbath; the hammering and chiselling were not prevented during the time of Church service.

The English language is generally spoken here, even amongst the negros; this must be owing, in part, to the intercourse with America. The Episcopal service is patronised by the wealthy, and it is read in the English language; the blacks have an allotted place in the church, but enter it at a different door: disrespect for the Sabbath is fostered by those in authority; the Governor can remove any minister at a word, and the present Minister, from a sermon preached a fortnight ago, on the duties of the Sabbath, is in danger; one was dispossessed of his office a short time back. Moravians are the only Missionaries patronized, and they are highly valued; they may be said to be, to the poor slaves, the sole religious instructors; and the peace and contentment of the island are, in great measure, attributed to them. "O! Christianity, were thy sublimest truths but a gilded phantom, he would be the deadliest foe to his species, who should seek to tear from before their eyes, the blessed illusion." Slaves on the estates are remarkably grateful for notice, and for small presents; in conversation with one, I men-

tioned that I had not tasted the sea side grape ; we parted, after a while he overtook me again, bearing a plate full ; he had turned away to his hut to procure them. Their politeness must be inherent, else how could it withstand the terrible assaults made against it? “ Good mornin’, massa,” and “ good night, massa,” accost the pedestrian here on all hands ; the whites have sought for too much servile flattery, and it has been injurious to their minds ; if they had, however, deserved it, one might better excuse their love for it. One cannot walk out without seeing the impolicy of slave labour. I lately saw a gang carrying manure to a field, a few shovels full were placed in a basket, and then lifted on the head ; as each was loaded he marched off to deposit it ; one ox would have drawn more than the whole gang. As the slaves must be maintained on the different estates, and kept from being mischievous, by employment, work is contrived for them in this silly way.

I have had the opportunity of seeing the disease, “ lepra elephantiasis ;” the subject was of middle age ; it affected his right leg, which was nearly as large as his body, and consequently unwieldy and powerless ; the enlargement had been gradual in its progress ; it is doubtless a disease of the lymphatics, and of the surrounding cellular tissue ; it is untractable in its nature, the balance being destroyed between the capillary secretory ducts, and the absorbents ; and the latter having

lost their normal absorbing power, there is a continual deposition of extraneous matter. This afflicted negro was not entirely useless ; he could drive oxen : when doing so, he sat on the shaft with his leg resting on it, like a log of wood. Oxen are used for draught here, but seldom more than two in a yoke ; very active handsome mules are also much used, six or eight in a team, and the roads being good they are generally trotted, even with a load. I admired the adroitness with which the negroes drove them.

Our domestic arrangements are in accordance with the wishes of the invalids, and they meet my approval ; in a few words I may say, we breakfast, dine, and drink tea early. These domestic comforts remind me much of home, and I can repeat with many another absentee,—

“ England, with all thy faults, I love thee still,
My country ; and while yet a nook is left,
Where English minds and manners may be found,
Shall be constrained to love thee.”

Exercise comes appropriately between meal times ; that most approved of is ambling on Porto Rico ponies ; these active galloways have a peculiar pace, which they are said to inherit, termed racking or pacing ; it is a very quick shuffle, between a canter and a trot, which apparently causes no other motion to a rider than progression. It amuses me to see two or three tall, lank, pale, phlegmatic invalids, sitting immoveably upright,

with their feet near the ground, whilst the little things under them, with their legs quarrelling as it were with the well known graceful lines of true motion, shuffle along seven miles per hour, as if impelled forward by some invisible agent in search of the picturesque.

Our poor wasted invalid, B——, mentioned before, has been committed to the silent grave.

“The sun light through the trelliced vines
 Came in upon the dead,
 A pallid youth, and touched with gold,
 The ringlets round his head ;
 No studied words of sympathy
 Were coldly whispered round ;
 The silence of the humble throng
 Told more than measured sound.”

B—— left New York, far advanced in pthisis ; he wished to experience the benefit of a tropical atmosphere in lessening his sufferings, and it had that effect ; for in an atmosphere, ranging between 74° and 84°, there is no distress from chilliness, or rigors ; but he had not counted upon the effect of absence on his mind ; painful were its pangs, and he was every day mentally at home with his mother and sisters : the bible and its contents engaged so little of his attention, that I was led to think there might be some defect in the scriptural education of youth in America. The same vessel which brought poor B—— out will take back his trunks ; this is the case with very many, in whom disease

is too rife and rampant to be benefited by any change of air.

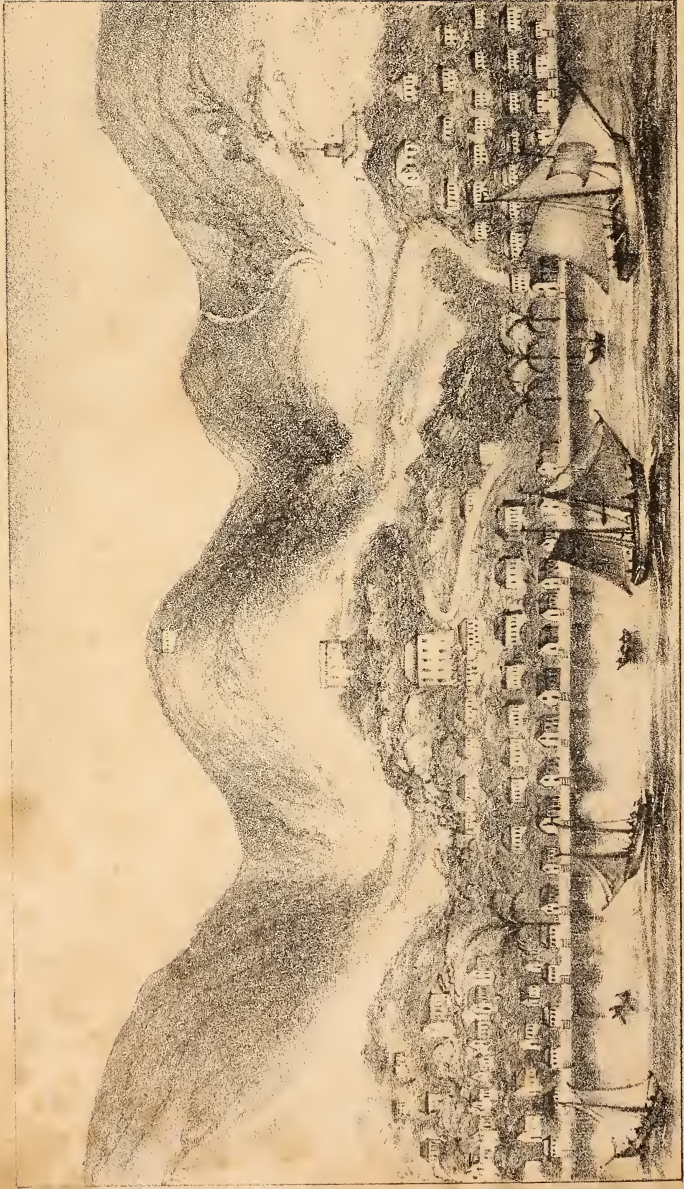
Slavery on the whole bears a mild form in Santa Cruz; nevertheless, injustice protects it, as is the case wherever it is found. Our landlady, E——, is as kind as most slaveholders, and a professing catholic; yet she speaks of her unearned and undeserved gains with the same satisfaction and indifference as if justice handed them to her. One of her slaves is a carpenter, clever, and faithful; in his prime he earned twenty-six dollars per month, of which his mistress took twenty, leaving him six to clothe and support himself. Now advanced in years, he only earns twelve, of which she takes eight, leaving him one dollar per week for all his necessities, his mistress not even finding him lodging. She informs me he is happy and does not wish for freedom; where, amongst the civilised and educated whites is such patience to be found? Santa Cruz is suffering from drought; the dry atmosphere has suited me, and I have felt much more energy and elasticity than in Demerara. The evenings are very favourable for enjoyment, enriched by gorgeous curtains moving along the western horizon, and indeed over the whole vault of heaven; the sun-sets are most magnificent; and Phoebus nightly sinks into a bed of gold, which, as soon as he has laid down his head, is enclosed by the most elegant drapery of “lilac and purple;” but the dyes are not lasting, they change momentarily, and

the heavens gleam with the tints of a thousand rainbows. When Apollo's "broad globose" is fairly veiled, then the dance of colours begins; then is the time to feast the eyes on heaven's rich "colure," to give reins to the mind, and freedom to the thought, and fully to indulge in the reveries created by a tropical sun-set. Very much I enjoy these evenings, pacing the sounding shore, near to or under the stately palms, which are highly picturesque and graceful in the mellowed light. At times I visit a slave burial ground, situated on the borders of a cane field, along the gurgling shore; few of the graves are unprotected, and many of them have brick tombstones: this attention told much for the slave; yet the proprietor had not even fenced the ground so sacredly occupied; it mattered not, for the occupants, "the weary, were at rest." At other times, leaving the margin of the waves, and roaming to one estate or another, I watch the harvest and planting, which proceed simultaneously. The fields are now ridged, and in the hollows between the ridges are placed cut lengths of ripe cane at their proper distances; as soon as rain falls they will be covered over. On seeing the cane plants thus exposed, I concluded the negros were trustworthy, and not mischievously inclined, or they would carry away the cane joints for their pigs, or displace them, to cause confusion; my opinion is, that if our English farmers left their potatoes bare in a similar manner, a very small chance

for a crop would remain to them. At other times, wishing to indulge my horticultural taste, I visit a garden on a plantation which is open to invalids, and admire the variety of tropical fruit trees ; to be embowered amidst these Caribbean waters on a little spot, one of the smallest of the Antilles, as evening's shades are advancing, preparatory to the fall of night's sable mantle, induces a pensive mood, and an aspiration to Deity, that the moral grandeur of man, through his grace, might be on a par with the beauties of nature ; and that as the Caribs have ceased to prey on their fellow men, Europeans might also remove the grievous burdens which accompany their yoke of bondage :
“ *Ambulantes in horto, audiebant vocem Dei.*”

I remain, &c.





The Town, Harbour, and Island of St. Thomas

W. L. G. del.

LETTER X.

St. Thomas, 3rd. Month, 6th., 1837.

MY DEAR F——R.

HEARING that the brig *Oscar*, from London, was unloading here, and would probably touch at Kingston, on her way to Campeachy, I left Santa Cruz hastily, lest I should miss the opportunity. I have engaged a passage ; and as the captain does not sail for several days, an opportunity is afforded me of obtaining farther acquaintance with this island. On leaving Santa Cruz by the same schooner in which I went over, my mind was pained with the brutal conduct of the captain to some of his crew, who were poor slaves. Two of them had had permission to go ashore, with an injunction as to time ; they were not on board when the captain came, preparatory to weighing anchor ; ere long they came off in a boat, and on ascending the deck he flew into a passion, and with a cane belaboured them over head, face, neck, and shoulders. The poor blacks bore it as if a fly was settling on them, simply, saying “ Massa, do forgive, we only little belated :” if they had shown any retaliation, they would have been sent back, and perhaps committed

by the judge to the penal gang. I am inclined to think no planter on the island would have been so abusive as this American, who however did not do more than their republican freedom permits, notwithstanding their declaration of independence proclaims. "We hold these truths to be self-evident ; that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator, with certain and inalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness : " and does not this apply, thought I, "*Quamvis ille niger, quamvis tu candidus esses.*" Are not yonder cane fields indebted to the negros for their waving arrows? and does not the continuance of the daily comfort and sustenance of the planter, depend upon their assiduous industry? Yet thou who boastest of thy liberty, wouldst confine these poor slaves within the precincts of a schooner. I hope the day will come when Americans shall no more dare to say, "*de nigris non curat lex,*" but shall be obliged to act in accordance with their own declaration.

The Virgin islands are fifty in number, a small company to represent the eleven thousand virgins in the Romish ritual; many of them are naked rocks: in others the mountains are covered with a red calcareous soil, which produces brush wood ; the trees, if ever existing, are now extinct. St. Thomas's (not a very appropriate name for a virgin,) is of this character: the mountain on either side, projects out, enclosing a very extensive and beau-

tiful bay for shipping; and the town, is built on three montecules, backed by a noble hill; the ravines separate the town into three divisions, which make a striking and unique appearance. Existing slave regulations are closely observed, a very active police is organised, and at gun fire at eight P. M., there is a reveillé of drums, police patrol the streets, and every slave found abroad is committed. The island grows but few canes, not manufacturing sugar enough for its own consumption; nevertheless, there is abundance of wealth, arising from a flourishing commerce, occasioned by having a free port, goods entering, only paying a duty of one per cent.; consequently St. Thomas is a depôt to supply the Spanish islands, Porto Rico and Cuba. This port has the character of abetting slavery, they fit out and provision slavers here; I am informed two slavers recently sailed, and that two others have lately landed their cargoes at Porto Rico, in number upwards of four hundred: slave vessels at the present day are of a small class, altogether depending upon swift sailing; the risk is so great, that insurances cannot be obtained, even at fifty per cent. Slaves here are, for the most part, domestics and labourers; a large building is now erecting before the "Traveller's Home," where my quarters are; the burden bearers to the masons are all women, who carry the mortar, and bring stones from the wharf; they are decently dressed, straight as arrows, and go through their

daily labour sedately and orderly, in this hot sun; they are not worked almost naked as in Demerara, neither are there naked children running about. The negro countenance has not any attractions for me, but I admire their figure and gait, walking with chin up, and toes out; no crooked backs or bowed legs are met with; the diseases of luxury do not afflict them; one preventive is, they lie upon the boards, beds for domestics are never thought of; with a mat on the floor, or at the foot of the stairs, they woo the ecstasy of repose, and seldom miss their object. From there being an abundance of hands here, and a scarcity in Demerara, two schooners are at anchor, wishing to engage hands; two hundred is the number they could convey: one of them had been to Tortola for indented labourers, but was disappointed; the negroes having a suspicion of unfair treatment, had sent a messenger to Demerara, to enquire into the fate of their brethren, and were anxiously awaiting his report and return. I do not believe Demerara will want labourers after 1840, if they find the colony healthy and are made comfortable; it is thought that some of the islands will be almost depopulated, after that period, by the population going to Demerara; which means, that the "idle improvident negro," will go hundreds of miles after labour, and its reward. The Danish Governor here is very jealous of the Apprenticeship traders, and has issued an ordinance, that no negro shall leave

St. Thomas's, till he has been free twelve months. A Captain from Newcastle, (England) has this week had his vessel seized ; a hue and cry was raised, after he had left the port, that some slaves were missing ; he was followed, the wind not favouring his escape, and brought back ; it appeared that he was short handed, and engaged two or three blacks, without taking the precaution of knowing whether they were free or not : he seems wholly unacquainted with slave laws, and on this ground it is hoped, he may escape penalties and punishment.

In one of my rambles I inspected a small cane mill, worked by six mules, three to each end of a beam, but their distress was so great, and the flogging so continuous, I thought humane minds might properly object to mule sugar. Some sugar is made over the mountain, and it is brought to the town without difficulty : two long poles are braced to the sides of two mules, standing one before the other ; a small cask of sugar is then tied between them, resting on the bars. Up the hill they start, and the leader has quite enough to do, tugging at the poles, with a cask of sugar resting on them, and his companion at the other end ; but once at the top, he comes down to St. Thomas's with evident satisfaction, head first, without any danger of falling ; his companion has to keep him up, who is evidently much annoyed at his pulling propensity, and has no other resource than throwing himself upon his haunches,

and thus in part, moderating the impetus of descent. The view from the top of the mountain is grand; Santa Cruz, Porto Rico, Tortola, St. Johns, and the Windward Keys, are all around, the three latter lie, as it were, under one's feet; it is a task to accomplish the ascent without a horse, but when there, no horse is thought of.

“But beautiful islands, each of which is a gem,
Like to pearls in the crown of some rich diadem.”

A pleasant fragrance accompanies the pedestrian up the ascent, as if from “sweet Melissa,” or from:—

“——— groves of myrth,
Or flow'ring odours, cassia, nard, and balm;
A wilderness of sweets ——.”

Here then I stood one evening, and only one;
and ere I left

“Beheld the sun in western cadence low
From noon; and gentle airs, due at that hour,
To fan the earth now wak'd, and ushered in
The evening cool.”

It has gratified me to renew my acquaintance with L——, who was one of our crowded party from England, and who resides here. He informs me of the death of our fellow passenger, F——, who died of fever shortly after reaching St. Thomas. He was the picture of health during our voyage, not at all reminding us by his looks,

that "*vita est brevè.*"* In my walks I have been surprised at the numerous lizards, and amused at their whimsical runnings, and independent stare; they are as plentiful and active in the banks as rabbits in a warren, and look at the passing stranger, as much as to say, I know what I love, won't you treat me. This love is said to be for music; whether or no they are subject to its influence I had no means of judging; they inspected me as if I were a master of the art, and could dispense the treat; they were mistaken in their Orpheus, as many others besides lizards have been. Sabbath here is neither accordant with the precepts of St. Thomas, nor with the emblem of Santa Cruz; it is a day of dealing, and of marketing, with more shops open than shut; those which are closed belong to the English and Scotch. There is much babbling confusion, free negros giving full liberty to one little member. There are eggs for sale by thousands of the booby (*pelecanus sula*,) mentioned before, a perishing commodity in this climate; they are procured from the neighbouring islands. Some fishes are quite gay in their colours, others astray in their forms, and have fanciful names to accord, as angels, trumpeters, et cet. Star fish are very large; I have preserved some twelve inches from ray to ray.

* Since my return home I have heard of the death of M——, of Trinidad, another "passager du voyage." His amiable qualities and accomplishments had endeared him to all.

23rd, Kingston, Jamaica.

One week's pleasant sailing landed me here, a distance of seven hundred miles. Our captain had never been to Jamaica, and had no chronometer; yet he made a tolerably good land fall. One morning he promised us the land would be in sight at five, P. M., and at that hour he said it was distinct, though not visible to any one else; bye and bye it loomed in Cynthia's light, and was in appearance dangerous; the eastern point is low, and not being able at that hour to distinguish the blue mountains, the shore appears a threatening reef; the breakers are heard dashing against a dark line in the horizon,—that dark line is Jamaica; if our course had not been true, how easily we might have run upon it.

“One views the long wished head-land from the mast,
With merry shouts; the far off coast he hails;
Each points it out to each, until at last,
They lose in present joy, the troubles of the past.”

The day broke, and very imposing then was the “land of springs,”* not with its water, but with its majestic blue mountains, the summit of which, called the Peak, was towering eight thousand feet above us, and which alone was indistinct, some fleecy vapours resting thereon, drawn by the attraction of the weighty mass; two elements, earth and water, were there combining their inherent qualities to fertilise the savannahs below. We

* Jamaica is an Indian name, signifying “land of springs.”

sailed sufficiently near the shore to distinguish shipping in Morant Bay; and soon after a boat, containing negros, came alongside, and one of them ascended the deck to conduct our ship into port, as when

“A pilot from amidst the Cyclades,
Delos, or Samos, first appearing kens.”

A gallant sail; we were all immediately subject to Quashie, because we were ignorant of coral reefs, with which he was intimately acquainted. “Knowledge is power.” Europeans own the truth of this axiom; in the tropics it has been modified to “white skin is power;” this unphilosophical change, in practice is found quite opposed to humanity and christianity: soon afterwards we cast anchor a breast of Port Royal. St. Domingo had been in sight, from our deck, a couple of days; we could distinguish the headlands, as Altavella, Point Abacou; this, then, was Hayti, which when discovered had a population of two millions of Indians, and in less than a century from that time, not a representative was left! they had maintained their independence against the Caribs, but they could not preserve their life against the Christians.

“Oft the pensive muse
Recals in tender thought, the mournful scene,
When the brave Incotel, from yonder rock,
His last sad blessing to a weeping train,
Dying, bequeathed. The hour (he said) arrives,
By ancient sages to our sire’s foretold ;

Fierce from the deep, with heaven's own lightning armed,
The pallid nation comes; blood marks their steps;
Man's agonies their sport; and man their prey."

This trip of seven days was a fair specimen of sailing in a sunny clime; a gentle trade wind embraced by our wide spread canvass, propelled us pleasantly o'er smiling waters; daily we were watched over by the sun, whose tropical brightness and uprightness unlock nature's secret stores of beauty and grandeur; and at night we were looked down upon by glorious heavenly orbs, whose clear and lucid rays spread silvery mellowness o'er all the wide expanse. Almost hourly we were visited by feathered messengers, whose gay plumage was as a passport from the land of evergreens; they could not warble the "throssilts cheary note;" but so pleasing to the eye were they, that my sense of hearing might, without difficulty, await its season of appropriate charm, which would arrive, when in northern shades, I might listen to the evening songsters. It was not amiss, on such an occasion, to recal the lines of our honoured MILTON:—

" Now gentle gales,
Fanning their odoriferous wings, dispense
Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
Those balmy spoils. As when to them who sail
Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past
Mozambique, off at sea; north-east winds blow
Sabœan odours from the spicy shore,
Of Araby the blest."

Vessels in general sail up the harbour to Kingston, but the *Oscar*, going elsewhere, cast anchor at Port Royal; and I, with other passengers, engaged a small sail boat for the remaining distance, seven miles; it carried us swiftly up, near to the Palisades; this is a long strip of land, extending for several miles, from above Kingston to Port Royal, leaving a narrow entrance into the inner bay. Mangroves flourishing on this long, low, narrow peninsula, have caused it to have the fanciful name of Palisades: * blue and white egrets, and brown pelicans, have here their haunts, and add an interest to the scene; overlooked, however, upon approaching, for the first time, Kingston, in Jamaica. We landed on a public stelling, at which there is an immediate charge made, perhaps, to liquidate the expense of erection; for myself and luggage it was two dollars: such a reception is somewhat uncourteous, and unworthy of so wealthy a community. I now parted from my fellow voyagers, amongst whom was a gentleman, with wife and family; he was a fond father, but fondness had produced a noxious weed, passion, in a son four years old: the uncontrollable temper of this boy discomfited the whole cabin, and the language he uttered was so awful, that of

* The naked pendent stems from the branches, which, after reaching the mud, root downwards to shoot upwards, and so on ad infinitum, are supposed to have a resemblance to a pail fence,—hence palisades.

him it might truly be said, though young in years, he was old in crime.

Kingston is a well built large town, of thirty thousand inhabitants; some streets run parallel with the bay, and are crossed by others at right angles; many of the houses are large, standing alone in enclosures; the streets are unpaved, and having a surface of loose sand, it is as troublesome as at Southport, Lancashire, where it is said, ladies walk the sand in their shoes, and then endeavour to walk it out; what increases the inconvenience is, there are no proper foot ways; they vary as to height, and are generally enclosed under the balconies, forming part of the house, where goods are exposed for sale, the owners sitting contentedly by on their chairs.

25th. I had yesterday the pleasure of again meeting my friends JOSEPH STURGE and THOMAS HARVEY, on their return from an inland journey of several weeks, having visited a great part of the island. J. S. is intending to return home by an early conveyance.

27th. Yesterday was the Sabbath; we attended a large Baptist Missionary congregation, under the pastoral care of J. GARDINER.* When crowded, the meeting-house holds two thousand. There are attached, a boys', girls', and infant

* This devoted Christian Minister was at the time I wrote, the picture of health; he is now no more: he succeeded the lamented COULTHART, of the Queen-street Chapel, and like him has resigned his earthly tabernacle.

school. It is pleasant to witness education proceeding; children are in general very happy when receiving instruction. In the evening we drank tea with an estimable gentleman, W. H. ANDERSON, the solicitor-general, who married a young woman, L. K——, sent out from England to take charge of the Spanish Town Metropolitan girls' school. Their home is one of domestic felicity; and their kindness to us was as sincere as it was cordial. W. R. A. is a true philanthropist, and has sacrificed much time in bringing to justice several oppressors; but they are made to suffer little, the juries bring in verdicts of damages, one pound fifteen shillings, which do not carry costs; no verdict under two pounds does, so that he has much discouragement. There is much and fearful oppression here, and a determined spirit of opposition against the doctrine of "good will to man." One subject of our conversation was the overwhelming calamity of W. B——, episcopal minister at St. Ann's Bay; he has been for years a pro-slavery advocate, but is at the present time humbled in the dust with affliction, from the harrowing catastrophe of seeing his four lovely and accomplished daughters perish in the bay by a boat upsetting. For some time his mind was in danger; he could not reconcile the severity of the judgment; he now prays to be brought to a willingness to view it as the only means which would bring him to a just estimate of his situation in the Divine sight;

and is made willing to see in it the hand of Providence for the salvation of his soul. The accounts given by those who have visited him, is painfully interesting. He has one little boy left, but cannot receive consolation from so small a representative of his once cheerful circle.

4th Month, 1st. I accompanied JOSEPH STURGE on a visit to the Papine Estate,^c proprietor, J. B. W——. An infant school has been established on the estate; the children behaved well, and had made some progress. This estate is irrigated by the Hope river, diverted from its course by the purpose. The barracks are likewise supplied from this source; and J. B. W. is said to receive six hundred pounds per annum for the right. It is truly pleasant to see running water in this thirsty clime, and it is so valuable, that the whole stream has been made to leave its mountain-bed, which instead of a foaming river, has thus become a rocky barranca. From the Papine we rode to Grecia Regale, in the St. Catherine mountains, the residence of STEPHEN BOURNE, a Special Magistrate; whose conscientious administration of the law, in the spirit of the Imperial Act, has brought down upon him ruinous persecution, and he is liable at any time to be sold up under an unjust conviction of one of the law courts.

The ride to the cottage gratifies to the utmost the eye longing and searching after novel scenery; it is riveted by the wildness and originality of nature's eternal hills, united with the evergreen

verdure of tropical beauty. On being introduced to Mrs. B—— and a numerous interesting family, I at once felt at home ; the house is situated on the hill side of a mountain gorge, through which the Hope river tumbles hurriedly along, and by the side of which a capital road has been formed, winding higher and higher in its approach to St. Catherine's Peak, a summit five thousand feet high ; being the means of approach to country residences, and coffee plantations, located at the intermediate degrees of elevation. Grecia Regale, a small estate, could not boast of many coffee trees, but there were various plants and productions to interest the stranger : before the piazza was an orange tree in full bearing, the "golden rinds hung amiable." We gathered them at our pleasure ; they were as excellent to the taste as pleasant to the eye : oranges gathered before they are ripe, and which ripen on their Northern journey to England, deserve no comparison. Here was the sago palm, modestly low, three feet high :* the pimento with its smooth silvery bark and iron hearted stem, sending forth its almost perpendicular branches, thickly clothed with fragrant leaves and fruit. Here the luscious pine apple (*anana*) growing as openly as our turnip in unsheltered spots ; and the stately mangos, claiming no other succour

* This Palma, in the East Indies, attains the height of fifty feet ; it delights in moist situations : I never saw it but on elevated ground, and this may be the reason of its humble stature in the West.

than common forest trees, and soon rivalling them in height, and surpassing them in a most bountiful lavish return of fragrant fruit; there are ten species of this valuable productive tree, offering their bounty to horses, goats, and pigs, which animals are very fond of them: the fruit is the size of a moderate sized apple, having a hard core, from which membranous strings radiate to the circumference; these fibres are troublesome to a novice, but the turpentine smack is the most difficult to reconcile; the palate improves by practise, and after wounding and throwing many away, I could at last boast of relishing a mango. The delicate tender star apple also, hung pendent from its parent stem, about twelve feet high; it causes no difficulty; its thin rind, tinted like the rainbow, offers little resistance to the escape of its luscious pulp. Amidst this horticultural profusion, my heart for a moment, lost its apprenticeship oppression, and abandoned itself to cheering admiration and useful investigation: questions about distress, oppression, and misery, I deferred to the more appropriate sites of Half-way-tree workhouse, and Spanish Town gaol; Grecia Regale eliciting other ideas, from the pleasant impressions conveyed by its woody labyrinths, and its fruitful bowers. Rain in the evening prevented our return, and in the night a thunder storm first aroused us, and then promoted silence, by its grandeur; it was awful, our little mountain tenement seemed to totter, as if

made of pasteboard, during the pealing thunders and the hollow mountain reverberations; the sounds were as of the mountains clashing their heads, or as if the

“ Hills amid the air, encountered hills,
Hurled to and fro with jaculation dire.”

I was really afraid our cottage would have been uprooted in the affray, and that we should have been tumbled into the river Hope, and sunk in a hopeless river. We rose early, and mounted our horses, whilst every leaf was pearly with crystal drops. One mile from the house, the road where it wound under a precipice, was blocked up by huge fragments of rock, which had been precipitated during the storm from above: the reason, who can tell? there was the fact and proof, one crag had lost its crown. As we rode over the Liguanea sandy plain into Kingston, its herbs and herblets were revivifying and rebudding. Rain in the tropics is the magician's wand; it touches the dusty parched leaves, and greenness is theirs; it moistens the sandy plain brown and sapless as the scattered fern, and the newness of spring bursts from its surface, and bedecks it with the modest beauties of the vale. This plain between Kingston and the mountains is several miles wide; part is uncultivated and occupied by logwood and acacias, the former is not unlike old scraggy thorn bushes, such as may be seen in the Phoenix Park, Dublin; in the forest it is a tall imposing tree, but on the plain behind King-

ston, it is the picture of despair. There are also pens;* some of the enclosures are surrounded by an upright cactus, impenetrable; the shoots have different heights, the tallest fifteen feet, and others intermediate, forming barriers which forbid intrusion. Cottages and small plots are generally surrounded by the penguin, which grows much like an aloe, each leaf is armed with a protruding spike. Occasionally the Spanish dagger (*yucca superba*) is planted, as a hedge row; but on growing aloft, its stems become bare, and thus pigs walk under what they could not walk over. JOSEPH STURGE, whose company has been truly acceptable and encouraging, will be the bearer of my next, in which I shall continue my narrative.

I remain, &c.

* Pen is synonymous with an English country seat.

LETTER XI.

Kingston, Jamaica, 4th. Month, 2nd., 1837.

MY DEAR F——R.

THERE is no want of good boarding houses and taverns in Kingston ; my quarters are a little distance from my friends ; at present there is not room for me in their comfortable abode. I have remarked in the tropics how much the residents think of England ; all classes, even the negros, calling it “ home ; ” and how many of the more wealthy inhabitants have visited and revisited Albion’s cliffs ; if natives of Britain, a revisit seems a matter of course. Their oceanic peregrinations produce varied experience. My landlady embarked with many others from London in the *Flora*, 15th of last 9th month ; they were detained in the channel ; and on the 12th of 10th month, the night the *Clarendon* was lost, on the Isle of Wight, they gave themselves up for lost, and assembled in the cabin to compose their minds, by hearing the bible read, expecting the event ; the captain having informed them they would be wrecked in one hour, if the wind did not change ; soon after it veered a little, and

enabled them to reach Ryde. The following morning they saw several corpses of the sufferers by the *Clarendon*, carried to their graves.

The howling storm arose not to abate,
 E'en hoping against hope at last was gone;
 Victims they were, of that heart-rending fate,
 Which late befel the goodly *Clarendon*;
 For she was wrecked upon the Isle of Wight,
 'Midst storms of darkness, in a wintery night.

Of many souls in her, there were no more
 Than three or five escaped that fearful death:
 Driven by winds upon that dreaded shore;
 First they were wrecked; and then their fluttering breath
 From earthly tabernacles passed and fled,
 And they 'ere morning's dawn were with the dead.

With home in sight, almost within their reach,
 The dangers of the atlantic left behind;
 When, lo! their vessel stranded on the beach,
 Ruin and wreck, and certain death to find;
 Strong and with hope she left thy isle, St. Kitts,
 But Albion saw her shattered into bits.

The wind on the 17th, which wafted our *Sky-lark* out of Falmouth, enabled the *Flora* to pursue her course, and they reached Jamaica ten weeks after leaving the Thames. The wife and daughter of J. TINSON, (senior Baptist Missionary,) have also lately returned from England; they were at sea near twelve weeks. The ocean made breaches over them, and burst into their berths; whereas we were little more than three

weeks reaching Barbadoes, and had not a breaker over us ; in the latter case making a difference as to time of eight weeks, though Jamaica is not a thousand miles farther from England than Barbadoes.

The *Oscar*, by which I came here, left St. Kitts in the summer of the previous year, with the *Clarendon*, which being the largest and the newest vessel was most approved of. She sailed for England full of passengers, all of whom perished. The *Oscar* had one solitary individual, who reached London in safety. "The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong."

We have visited Wolmer's free school, which has been founded upwards of a hundred years. A gentleman of that name bequeathed all his estate, real and personal, except some trifling legacies, for that purpose. Some examinations were conducted in our presence, highly satisfactory. A Mulatto boy was the quickest at arithmetic : he answered three questions of pounds, shillings, and pence, complicated in their nature, in three quarters of a minute. An infant school is now attached under the same endowment ; and we were equally gratified with it. It is superintended by E. REID, whose daughter is teacher ; he has been head master twenty-three years. There are five hundred scholars in this charity. There are in Kingston two schools on Wolmer's foundation, three national, four Mico, one baptist, one Jamaica union, and ten sunday schools, be-

sides many respectable private seminaries. We called at the Union school; it being Easter there was no attendance. The building is very suitable. This school is supported by subscriptions, and a grant from the Assembly; the pupils also pay; with a few exceptions they are all black or coloured; but at Wolmer's, though there is said to be free admission, not many blacks attend.

In company with R. OSBORN, a coloured gentleman, and a proprietor of the *Watchman* newspaper, we visited the gaol, a most defective place. The condemned and untried are mixed pellmell in a small yard, thirty yards by eight, in which upwards of sixty are crowded together, chief part with irons on their legs; some have been prisoners for years, though sentenced to transportation. Rations are not distributed, but money, one shilling and threepence each per diem, which is a great incentive to gambling. A cruel custom is extant here of imprisoning crown witnesses, until the assizes, though merely accidental eye witnesses. We saw one who had been imprisoned for months, as a crown witness, though guilty of no crime; thus—if a negro beholds an out-break, and the Governor takes up the cause, into limbo he or she must go for three or seven months, till the trial is over. Barbarous cruelty this! The debtor's gaol is attached; they have a roomy flagged yard, and good apartments, and are allowed two shillings and sixpence per diem each in money at the island's expense. Money in gaol is a premium for

vice. The debtors appeared to me to be chiefly whites: this is one reason they are so well off. R. OSBORN also accompanied us to the workhouse, situated at some distance; it is a pattern of cleanliness, and I may say elegance, as regards the court yard, and the arrangement of its buildings. Two tread wheels are in operation here; the dancers are on every alternate quarter of an hour, from six A. M., to five P. M.; very severe work. They are not tied or held on, but reminded of their duty by a driver with a switch. These wheels have no machinery attached; perhaps that is a mercy, though I am inclined to think that it is disheartening, when an individual knows his labour tends to nothing. If the wheels must go round, they might pump water for baths; great would be such a luxury; but there is little public spirit: open sea bathing on account of sharks is out of the question. A sailor the other day would bathe in the harbour; as he was regaining the boat, all the flesh was torn from his leg, and amputation was necessary.

A lazaretto occupies one corner of the yard, there were a few cases of lepra leontiasis, known as the coco bay disease; in this complaint the extremities drop off little by little; one poor man had not a single finger left, and mere stumps of toes; and a woman was in a similar melancholy state: this is a very different complaint to the elephantiasis, which is an excess of deposition; the leontiasis seems one of innu-

trition, and otherwise, than of the lymphatics, is a disease of the arteries, but why they should be obstructed and perish, I know not; "*felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*;" then it might be hoped a remedy would be found, on the principle that "the knowledge of a disease is half its cure." Medical men should always bear in mind, "*in vivum corpus medicamenta agunt*;" this remembrance would stimulate them to persevere after a remedy; yes, to search the "arcana of nature," that poor suffering humanity might be relieved. The complaint is much dreaded as highly infectious; the poor objects are dungeoned, never to associate with others: negroes are alone subject to its influence; happily it is uncommon. The town hospital afterwards claimed our attention, a large, clean, and well regulated charity, crowded with patients: insane are mingled with the sick, they are the inoffensive ones; close at hand is a public lunatic asylum, containing many bad cases; two of the worst were British, a female servant who had not been out more than fifteen months, and an Irishman: it is humbling to find one's countrymen shut up in cells, so far from home, forlorn and shattered in mind and body: what an amount of real misery may be seen in a few hours, in an hospital, a lunatic asylum, a gaol, and house of correction! How different are the sensations on visiting schools, where youthful life sparkles with the acquirements of knowledge; and where, as yet,

there has been no blast from the touch of this wicked world. In one cell was an insane negro, who had previously murdered his companion in confinement; yet he was loose, in company with two more patients, as if, having despatched one, he might try his hand on two. A hot climate does not, it is clear, prevent insanity; I have never seen more violent and noisy patients, and in the case of the servant girl, was it anxiety of mind, or change of temperature which produced it? annoyance often follows removing persons from their native shores. A Scotch servant, who accompanied the captain of engineers and his lady to St. Kitts, was much discomfited, and openly reproached them; she had willingly come as far as Barbadoes, but could not bear the idea of being so far from home as St. Kitts, and her mind acting upon this inconsistency, pacification was not easy.

Dr. MADDEN, in his "Twelvemonth's Residence in the West Indies," gives a singular account of an individual being immured in this asylum, who had written to him about his imprisonment. He had once been a planter, afterwards a schoolmaster; and for certain political peccadilloes of a poetical kind, he was incarcerated in this madhouse. "The man assuredly, (says the Doctor) when I saw him, was no more insane than I was. I sent for the two principal keepers, and the matron of the hospital; I asked their opinion of the man's sanity; they all de-

clared that he was perfectly sane. This poor man concludes his letter by assuring me of his sanity of mind; and, by way of proving it, he encloses me a copy of a song of his. Now this, certainly, might be an equivocal proof of soundness of mind before a jury of physicians, furiously disposed against the "insana studia" of rhyme, as old BURTON speaks of similar inquisitors; but though he will have it that all poets are mad, and that he who inflicts his verses on his friends is madder than his fellows, he by no means recommends that all such mad men should be immured. I made up my mind to write no poetry while I was in Jamaica; from the period of my visit to this poor man, I had a salutary apprehension of a Kingston madhouse."

I copy this account with two verses and chorus of the song for thy perusal, that thou mayest see how much farther the Jamacia literati have advanced in their determination to crush *Melpomene* than our English reviewers, and their critical readers.

TO LADY LIBERTY.*

"Oh! who comes smiling on thy car,
Aurora say—so brilliantly?
Who is this other morning star,
That dawns with day benignantly?"

* This was written after the passing of the British Emancipation Act.

Who does not ken her bonnie smile ?
 She long has pined in jeopardy ;
 But now I bring to this fair isle
 Your own sweet lady—Liberty !

We'll lead her o'er St. Anna's grove,
 Thro' fairy dells of spicy trees ;
 The bonnie dame ! our queen of love,
 Her weary wings at length shall ease ;
 Enthroned on yon Blue Mountain peak,
 View Grandé, "rolling rapidly,"
 On Buxton hills the shrine we'll seek,
 Of our sweet lady—Liberty !

CHORUS.

Hark ! now her song Jamaica sings,
 O'er hill and dale, o'er bower and tree ;
 We consecrate the "land of springs"
 To lovely lady—Liberty !"

The Birmingham testimonial, presented to JOSEPH STURGE before his departure, found its way here, and has firmly stamped him as a true and devoted philanthropist. Planters are like other men, desirous of showing attention to men of worth ; and on this occasion they have vied with each other. Many of them are endeavouring to make the best of what they consider a robbery: twenty millions in the eyes of such men is a very light matter, in comparison with the many tons weight of human flesh they have lost. Society here is in a most unnatural state. Slavery is so accursed, it pollutes every spring of society ; it is utterly opposed to christian principle ; one proof of which

is, planters never defend it on that ground, or speak of their apprentices with christian sentiments. Now, if christianity bore slavery on its fruit-bearing branches, planters would refer us to that stem for its origin, on the ground that a tree and its fruits are inseparable. How pitiful is that state of society, when a man may sin to the utmost in sins which are allowed, and as colonists like sinning; and be esteemed! but if he acts up to the law of right and wrong, if that law is uncongenial, he is persecuted with rancour ;—*exemplum*.—DR. PALMER.*

Slavery is a canker-worm in all its labyrinthical twistings, no matter how named; whether apprentice ship, rightful owner ship, or proprietary ship; these ships are all first cousins to slave ship, which has long been denounced by the unanimous voice of the British public. What is now occurring is a convincing proof that it is well to call things by their right names, and then they can be understood: “*aquæ potor, ficum voco ficum.*”

“ We have no need to quote the Stagyrte,
To prove that smoke ascends, that snow is white.”

I give the planters credit for never having palmed a new name on the British public. Their negroes were slaves, and the service they rendered slavery; but the pseudo philanthropy of Lord STANLEY discovered that apprenticeship was a better term,

* Dr. PALMER married a coloured woman.

and would sound as a logical derivation from that wicked root. It was adopted; but, now, after two years, John Bull, with his argus eyes, sees that it is only a new name for an old enemy; and he is so wrathful, I verily believe he will root out both the parent stock and the derivation; and be more cautious for the future, than to give twenty millions for the privilege of changing one word for another.

4th. I have had the pleasure of visiting J. TINSON, and of partaking of the privilege of christian converse, in his small, polite, and refined social circle. His family comprises a wife and daughter. On the last Sabbath I attended his Chapel; it is much smaller than J. GARDINER's, in Queen-street. His service varies a little; after reading a chapter in the Old Testament, he expounds and comments on the verses, and then reads a chapter in the New, and does the same. He finds the negroes are more benefited by this method than when the chapters pass without explanation. His sermon, which was impressive, concluded the service. Previously he prayed earnestly for a blessing on J. STURGE's visit of love. J. S. tells me this has been general throughout the island: it warms the heart when in a foreign country, we find such sympathy and interest. The audience as usual was most quiet: not a cough, not a hem to be heard. The Sabbath is evidently respected in Kingston by all ranks; there are few vehicles to be seen moving;

hence much quietness in the streets. Negroes deeply value christian observances; and what a blessing it is they have not been withheld. In this good cause the missionaries are the labourers; but the government who has sanctioned it, and the whole island, are now reaping the benefit. Yes! the planters are indebted for their safety and prosperity to the prevalence of christian principle by these devoted men; it has enabled the afflicted, the distressed, the persecuted, to withstand the impetuosity of their enemies with patience and endurance; and the victory will be theirs. From the support and countenance we receive, another proof is added that christians need not be afraid of doing good. I believe timorous minds are somewhat fearful of others stepping forward; who, nevertheless, if they possessed the same apprehended duty, would be bold and persevering. The Attorney General, DOWEL O'REILY; the Solicitor General, W. H. ANDERSON; W. RAMSAY; R. HILL, Under Secretary; CHARLES HARVEY, and others, call openly, and visit us. With such advocates by our side, we march boldly on in the path of philanthropy: these pioneers are clearing the way; and the path which was but narrow, is daily becoming wider.

The Baptist Minister, JAMES GARDINER, drove me recently to an estate six miles in the country, to see a member of his congregation, who had been "Obeahed" by an Obi man; that is, an administration of African witchcraft, and it has such

influence on the negros, that death has been known to follow : on this account, the laws are very severe against the operators, who are imprisoned and tried for their lives. The individual whom we visited, was an intelligent "quadroon," a book-keeper on the estate ; he says that the Obi man called at his house, and asked him to change some silver ; he offered what change he had ; Obi said it would not do, and went away muttering vengeance ; that night the bookkeeper had frightful dreams about Obi, and a severe pain seized his head and limbs ; he went to Obi, and asked him what he had done, and told him he would be punished : a boy afterwards called at his house, and told him he must look at his legs ; there were things to come out, though they had no sores at the time ; after examining them, the boy produced a basin with odd things in it, shells, bits of pipe, charcoal, insects, and feathers, which things he said he had extracted. The bottle and its contents I saw, and the man showed me his legs ; on one of them, there are now three irritable ulcers, and two on the other ; the sufferer is reduced so much, as to make his recovery doubtful. The Obi man is imprisoned waiting the event. The book-keeper's present state is one of actual disease ; and of that kind, and to that degree, which would seem to be impossible to be produced solely by a terrified imagination : if not, it was a curious coincidence that disease should establish itself at the precise juncture, when Obi said he

should be "Obeahed." In Africa all the inmates of a house are "Obeahed" at once, by nailing a bundle of witchcraft on the door; of which feathers and dead skins form a considerable part. Dr. MADDEN remarks, "There are two descriptions of Obeah; one that is practised by means of incantations, and the other, by the administering of medicated potions: in former times, it is said, of poisons; and these practitioners were called myal men. The "fetish" is the African divinity, invoked by the negros in the practise of Obeah. When they take an oath, they say they "take the fetish;" and when they worship, they "make fetish." "In this, as in many other matters, the exertions of the Missionaries have been evidently beneficial to the negros: Obeah no longer has the power of producing mischief to the extent it formerly did." We bid adieu to the afflicted book-keeper, whose cottage was neat and comfortable, and returned to Kingston, in company with an itinerant Baptist Minister, T. THOMPSON, also agent to the London Bible Society; his conversation interested me. Some time before when he paid a visit to Hayti, he was treated with cordiality by President BOYER, and his black subjects; T. T.'s opinion is, that their difficulties are not from idleness, but from other causes: one of which is, the large debt they owe to France, and not being able at present to pay it, all the young men become soldiers, to be prepared against any attempt to reduce them again to bondage:

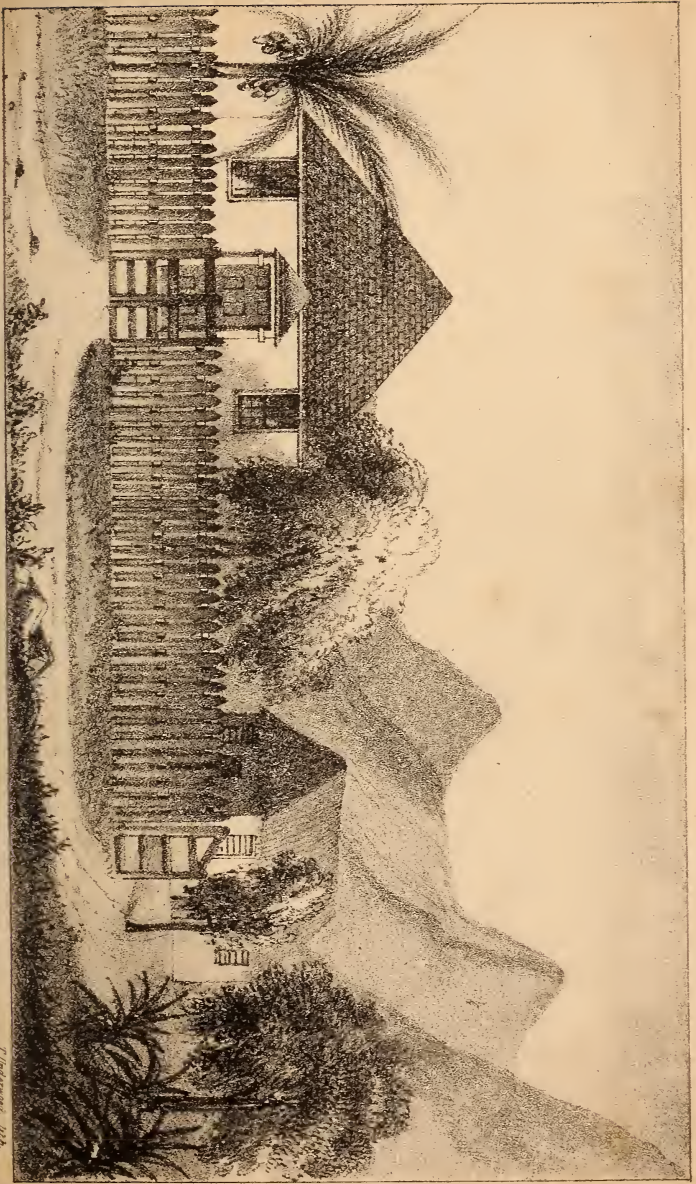
another is, the ban under which they have been placed by other communities: the ports of Jamaica are shut against them, though the islands are not one hundred miles apart. Now, what would England be, if excommunicated by the rest of the world, and her commerce destroyed? doubtless as poor.

The Prime Minister told T—— he was astonished at the English having their court of judgment at the Havannah, for the liberated Africans, and which Africans are allotted out to the Spanish planters in Cuba, as apprentices, on conditions that they make annual returns of them, whether dead or living. For this purpose the planters give them names, and make returns of two or three of these new names dying every year, though their bodies are still living. By this means the liberated Africans are all nominally registered as dead and buried; but the slave gang is complete and alive; in fact the planter has converted the apprenticed Africans into permanent slaves. Silly John Bull! in this way thy money is wasted; in the outfit of cruizers to extinguish the slave trade; but indeed to supply Cuba with apprentices, or in simple English, with slaves. BOYER's minister said to T——, if these Africans were sent to Hayti, we should be glad of them; we should not require any apprenticeship; they should be free—really free at once. T—— informs me that the manners of life as travelling, are much the same as in Jamaica; that the women and children are much better clothed;

and that the Haytians in the arts of civilised life are far advanced. In Port au Prince, the capital, there are five public government schools; all religions are tolerated, and T—— had free permission to preach the gospel, and his audiences were large; the languages spoken are the Spanish and French. Cuba is a dark spot. A Scotch gentleman, recently from thence, tells me he was assured from competent authority, that three thousand African slaves had been landed there in the first two months of this present year. Doubtless all this outrage will terminate in the negroes having possession of the countries into which they are transplanted, from the simple reason that they thrive, whilst the whites degenerate, unless their loyalty is insured on the basis of equal rights; when this has taken place in the British colonies, it will secure them to the British empire. I long that Jamaica might become a beacon to these benighted regions; and it would, with a sound spirited governor, and with its ports opened to Hayti, which would be the best of policy; if the home government would be fully just, the planters would yield; they are blind at present to their own interests.

6th. This letter follows my last quickly; JOSEPH STURGE will be the bearer of it; he has concluded to sail in the *Orbit* for New York tomorrow morning. THOMAS HARVEY and I remain a few weeks longer, that we may extend our observations and investigations to some other parishes not yet visited.

I remain, &c.



W. L. A. 1851

Baptist Missionary Station, Yallahs, near Kingston.

Printed in N. Y.

LETTER XII.

Yallahs, near Kingston, 4th. Month, 9th., 1837.

MY DEAR F——R.

The last few days have been variously employed; on the afternoon of the fifth, I accompanied other mutual friends, to see J. STURGE embark from Port Royal. J. GARDINER accompanied us; having a station there, he could, at the same time, visit his flock. The Chapel was formerly a dwelling house, the lower rooms still answer that purpose, and the meeting house is extended over them; the reverse of what may be observed in Demerara. After tea, we attended the evening service; probably two hundred individuals were present, though no notice was given; on seeing their Minister, the inhabitants know there will be a meeting; "*fama volat*;" and a congregation assembles. J. G. conveyed to his audience practical instruction, in a simple manner, elucidating the life of the Patriarch Abraham, and enforcing the advantage of a pious life, and a walk by faith: his auditors were, without many exceptions, black or coloured. This station is often visited by a young man of the name of WHITE-

HORN, who has charge of the Queen-street Chapel boys' school; an estimable character; the same may be said of the family; one brother has sacrificed patronage and wealth, declining the profession of law, which was open to him, and has devoted himself to the Missionary service; he now occupies a station on the Island; another, who is in England, has freed his apprentices, and given up his compensation.

At ten P. M., J. S. went on board, leaving us to partake of Missionary kindness. Early next morning, T. HARVEY and I walked round Fort Charles, situated at the point of the Peninsula, and defending the narrow entrance to the inner harbour; on the opposite shore, we descried the apostles' battery, so named from having twelve guns; a far fetched allusion; and farther up the Bay, stands Fort Augusta, an imposing military station. The *Orbit* had weighed anchor, was gliding gently away, and carrying our friend and companion J. S., onward in his orbit of philanthropy and love. We visited the naval hospital, an admirable edifice; the building is surrounded by a piazza, extending from the ground to the roof; this balcony, at the sides, is three hundred feet long; the sun is thus shut out from the whole of the wards, and the convalescents can walk in the shade at all times; the jalousies of the piazza are painted green, giving a picturesque and lively effect to the whole: the hospital, at present, is almost void, yet in a few weeks, the yellow fever

might put every bed in requisition. Excepting the fort and hospital, Port Royal is shabby in its appearance: this is Port Royal the second; it has never rivalled the first, which was swallowed up by an earthquake in three minutes, in 1692: its remains are said to be yet visible at the bottom of the sea, on close inspection: the present town is a very hot unsheltered place; and the smell of salt fish, and other sea port effluvia, extend through it. Salt fish is a chief article of diet, and when acted upon by the sun is highly odoriferous; and inclines him who is sensitive, "*corrugere nares*:" the shops where it is kept, and the negros who carry it about, are perceptible to the olfactory nerves, at a considerable distance. The annoyance, however, *par eminence*, at Port Royal, is the howling of dogs through the night; one begins, but the solus soon becomes a chorus of twelve or twenty voices, and the most extraordinary canine combinations of sounds take place, expelling at once silence and sleep from the town. After an early breakfast, we returned to Kingston, a sail of only a few miles; but those few are stamped with the sublimest scenery, embracing the characteristics of European lake and mountain vistas, and possessing other features, peculiar to the tropics. Kingston opens prettily out, extending up the gradually ascending Liguanea plain; behind the city is Up-Park Camp, looking down upon the town, the shipping, and the bay, as if watchful of the interests of all, backed by the lowest ranges of hills,

Which are out topt, and these again o'erlooked ;—
Behold St. Catherine's Peak* outvies them all ;
Yet still no mastery, for hills behind
Upwards on high ascend, till where they meet
That peak so blue, which towers unto the skies.

Jamaica scenery acquires one of its features from this blueness of its highest mountain ranges ; the nearer heights are beheld clothed with trees, the more distant ones are softened down to a delicate blueish tint, which adds the utmost grace of nature's tinting to the scene ; the blue peak itself is often imperceptible, being delicately veiled with a vapoury wreath, even whilst the heavens are clear and bright as crystal ; no disfigurement this ; it is the the most tender commingling of earth with heaven imaginable, and fills the mind with unfading impressions of the glorious harmonies of this one universe.

Yesterday, T. HARVEY and I left Kingston for this place, nineteen miles ; five o'clock, A. M. is the hour most approved of for journeying ; between which hour and eight, there is sufficient time to accomplish a long stage, and the same towards evening ; by which arrangement horses work as well as they do at "home," and take the year throughout certainly better. Though we were moving at this early hour, the "idle and improvident" were up before us ; it was market day,

* In round numbers St. Catherine's Peak is four thousand feet above the level of the sea, the Blue Peak eight thousand feet.

and an open market place, at the edge of the town, was thronged with black hucksters ; others were pouring in, and we met very many, laden heavily on their heads, earnestly trudging for their profit : a busier scene could not be found in industrious England ; yet, this was on the Saturday, a day which the planters said could not be converted into a market day, because the negroes had always desecrated the Sabbath to that purpose ! yet the change has been at once effected ; and I believe there is no town in England with as many inhabitants as Kingston so quiet and orderly on the sabbath day. With respect to the poor negro, language itself has been turned upside down against him ; and next to America, we have committed the greatest folly. The Declaration of Independence, signed July 4th., 1776, at Philadelphia, by fifty-six American citizens, is the greatest outrage upon good sense, ever palmed upon the world, when we estimate the sentiments expressed, by the acts of the American people towards the blacks. The British Imperial Act of Apprenticeship, dated 1833, stands second as to perversion of truth. Negroes were to learn to be free ; of whom ? of the planters ; those planters who had acknowledged they never could teach them to be free, but would keep them as slaves ? Were they to learn the cultivation of cane or coffee grounds ? the masters were incapable of teaching them, and had need of being taught. What an apprenticeship day was this ? binding hundreds of thousands of

human beings, to persecution, misery, and woe, and calling it apprenticeship; taking the indulgences away from poor lying-in women, and calling it apprenticeship; forcing the unrecovered mothers into the field, by which numbers of infants have perished, and calling it apprenticeship. And what a day of premiums! hundreds of thousands, and millions upon millions, given away so easily, and pocketed so pleasantly by the masters; many residing in London, who received the money for instructing apprentices, at the distance of from four to five thousand miles! Well might the negroes say, "we understand freedom and slavery, but we do'nt understand apprenticeship:" nor will the investigations of "learned pundits," or the "witty apothegms of professors and syndics," ever enable them to do so. "As the plague distances all lesser diseases," so do the American Declaration of Independence, and the British Imperial Act of Apprenticeship, distance all common sense; the outrage of both these documents, falls upon the unfortunate negroes; let them, therefore, descend together, yes side by side, to posterity. To return to our journey: our road lay along the coast, due east; two miles from town, it winds round the base of a hill, and passes under an archway at Rock Fort, a fortification wholly commanding the pass; here also, is the terminus of the inner Bay; the narrow strip of land forming it, uniting with the shore. Again we left the beach a little, and pursued our

varied route; sometimes enclosed betwixt walls of cactus, twenty feet high; then shaded as if in a Warwickshire lane; for many of the shrubs have an English appearance. We reached J. TINSON's to breakfast, and cordiality welcomed us through an open door. This field engaged J. T's. attention a few years ago; members of his Kingston congregation resided in this neighbourhood; he pitied the arduous exertions necessary for their attendance at Chapel. In his first visit to Yallahs, he preached in an outhouse belonging to a tavern keeper; for this indulgence the innkeeper's license was taken away. He, therefore, bought three acres of land; has erected a neat Chapel, and is now roofing in a large school house. He has had two hundred pounds towards it from the London Committee; the School building alone will cost more; the contributions of the negroes are his chief resource, but St. David's is a poor parish, being mountainous: when completed J. T. will have no legal interest in the property. A Missionary's walk is one of faith and of disinterestedness, unknown to worldly minds. After breakfast we walked to the negro village, on a neighbouring pen, and looked in upon the apprentices; we were much interested with an old Mandingo, in whose veins royal blood was circulating; he told us the names of seven different African kings: he reads and writes Arabic, and is very choice of a book in that language, perhaps a Koran: he wrote a grace for us with a steady hand, yet his

life has passed in slavery, and he is too old to benefit by freedom ; nay, he may be turned out of his hut after 1840, and suffer want. In his solitude he has found companions ; a brook runs through his master's garden, of which he has charge ; and he has taught a large mullet to come and feed out of his hand, at the call of Tom ; great Tom being well treated, taught other little Toms to come also ; and now, instead of one, a drove appears, when the invitation goes forth : no unprejudiced mind could behold this scene without moralising, and saying ; is not that royal Mandingo as capable of appreciating kindness, as those simple mullets ? and is not the fact of his having tamed those timorous fish, a proof, that the tenderest chords of humanity vibrate in his bosom, and that he knows so well how to apply them, as to be able to draw the finny tribe from their haunts ? those mullets made me ashamed of my whiter skin, knowing how the blacks have been outraged by its assumed authority : *exemplum* : a delicate man, a short time since, was ordered to go from an estate to Montego Bay, thirteen miles, for a firkin of butter ; he went to busha, (the overseer, bookkeeper, or proprietor) to ask the loan of a mule, as he was unable to carry it ; busha denied him ; he therefore went to the field to work ; he was had up before the Special Magistrate, who ordered him to gaol, and to receive thirty-nine lashes, which were inflicted as a punishment for disobedience.

In the evening we attended scripture reading and prayer, in the Chapel, the neighbours around stepping in; it was a peaceful scene. A venerable Missionary reading the scriptures to poor apprentices, as it were in the wilderness, apart from the censure of man; a pastor endeavouring to comfort a sickly and weeping flock, made so, by those now entrusted with the lofty boon of fitting immortal souls for freedom: vile prostitution! can the sacred flame of liberty ever burn brightly over such a polluted stream?

“*Quid non mortalia pectora cogis,
Auri sacra fames!*”

This is the sabbath, and we have had a favourable opportunity of witnessing missionary proceedings. J. T. endeavours to visit this station at least once a month; in the intermediate time he has a lay assistant; there has been an attendance to-day of several hundreds; asses, mules, and horses brought the more distant ones. During the morning, one member was read out, two were married, and the sacrament was administered to near one hundred; it was a solemn occasion, and deeply impressed, may I not say, on all present, from the minister's close dealing: the communicants were evidently bowed in spirit. At the end of the ceremony, there was a collection amongst the communicants; the noise from the silver pieces sounded worldly in my ears; as if disproving that they were buying “wine without

money, and without price." I know those little sums are laid aside for the relief of the aged and destitute, and for sacramental use; nevertheless, the jingle of silver is grating and inappropriate at such a time.

Between services the minister was engaged in private with members of his flock; others sat in groups round the chapel and under the trees, partaking of their own simple refreshments; their costumes were various, though white gowns prevailed; and nothing looks better, with a black jetty face, than the snowy white of West India drapery. Straw bonnets and hats* are more common than in Demerara; one can hardly realise the belief that such a company is formed of poor apprentices, but so it is in great measure; and they will come twenty miles to partake of this christian fellowship. Great is the attachment shown to a worthy pastor, and presents of choice fruits and vegetables flow in; we have partaken of pine apple, melon, water melon, cocoa nut, star apple, all presented by the kind hands of his auditors. Negros feel a great interest in a station which has risen up under their own eyes; they collect every month towards the expense, and call it their own meeting house.

11th. Yesterday morning we visited the parish

* An anecdote may here be mentioned, which has been told me since I returned, as it is very characteristic of the negro's aptitude for imitation:—

They were so delighted with JOSEPH STURGE, as to wish

workhouse of St. David's, four miles distant ; it has been recently erected, and is scarcely in operation ; it stands near the banks of the Yallahs river, three hundred feet broad ; mountains rise from the very margin. In the rainy season this bed contains an impetuous torrent ; at the present time it is a rivulet ; over it a chain bridge was being suspended wide enough for carriages some time back ; ere its completion, half the fabric, the whole length, gave way ; the other half is broad enough for a foot passenger, it is held up by only one suspension chain ; we ventured over for the novelty of crossing a chain bridge in Jamaica ; the effect was too much like rope dancing to be pleasant. I refreshed myself with ripe tamarinds, gathering them from the trees, apparently of no value ; the pods are nearly as long as kidney beans, within which are the seeds and acidulous delicious pulp. We returned by a school under the patronage of Bishop PHILPOTTS. Forty children were in attendance—upwards of fifty on the list—they had made good progress : till last autumn there was no school in the parish : J. TINSON's would have been finished before now, if he had had funds ; but having begun it without, its progress has been checked : rivalry in good works is very commendable, and there can be no objection to bishops taking the lead. Near to the chapel is a very large silk cotton tree : (*ceiba* :)

to retain something to remind them of him ; for this purpose they fixed upon his "broad brim," and resolved to wear exactly the same pattern, under the title of the Sturge Hat.

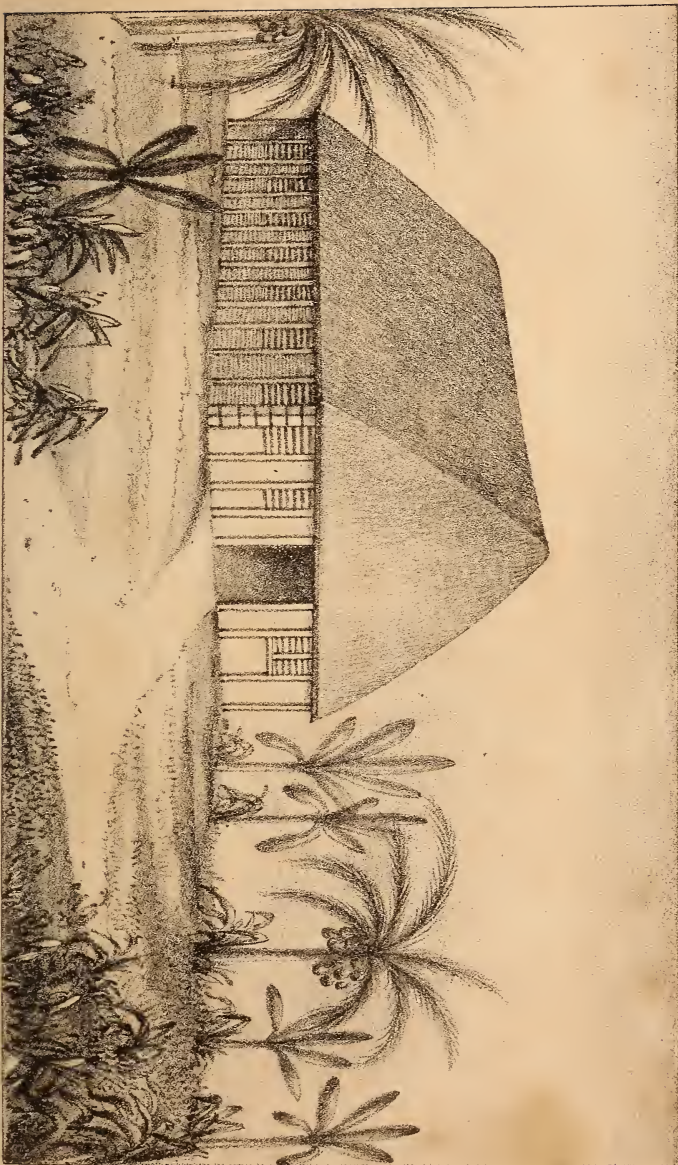
this is one of the few deciduous trees Jamaica can boast of; its spring leaves are now expanding, and their lighter green contrasts pleasantly with darker shades around. One peculiarity of this tree consists in its huge limbs, leaving the trunk at right angles. Nature to support them causes roots as large to run along the surface of the ground, and between the two, the trunk projects out, which forms a pillar for the support of the former: hence the stem is not unlike a huge fluted column. Amidst such a living mass of timbers and foliage, an architect might advance still further in the study of orders and designs; he would have no difficulty in imagining amidst the tracery of boughs, porticoes, pediments, corridors, façades, architraves, and pilasters.

This morning we left Yallahs, and came to Morant Harbour, twelve miles, to breakfast, accompanied kindly by J. T.: the road is pleasant, in part along the edge of the breakers, sweeping the shore. After breakfast a Missionary of the London Society (M. HODGE) accompanied us to the Court House, where there is a parish school. We inspected a school house, which the Bishop has nearly completed; then we visited H.'s Missionary School, conducted by a young Englishman, (— HOWELL:) this is not gratuitous, the attendance is nevertheless pretty good. Bishop PHILPOTTS is very zealous in forwarding education: it is said his zeal went so far some time since, as to desire to have catechumens amongst the free chil-

dren on each estate, and the overseers were to be the catechists : this was so preposterous, and such an outrage to decency from the character of the overseers, that a satirical article was published, recommending him, if he was so nonsuited for fellow labourers, to send to England for some cast iron clergymen, which would advance the interests of religion quite as fast as overseers ; with this recommendation they could do no harm. The worthy Bishop, however ignorant he might be of the character of these estate officers, was not to be ridiculed out of his philanthropy and zeal, and he promotes religious instruction to the utmost. We found the gaol empty, the penal gang being at work at some distance. At the workhouse there were thirty undergoing their sentences. The tread mill was rotating with the power of four prisoners : two black men, one black woman, and one white sailor. The old adage, “ many hands make light work,” is reversed with tread wheels, alias shin mills ; with them the fewer the legs, the lighter the labour ; the wheel going slowly, the treaders have time to gain the next descending step. The allotted time for these distressed objects to be on the wheel, was every alternate quarter of an hour through the day, and their diet one herring, and one pound of loose corn meal, (maize ;) of this they endeavour to make a kind of stir-about. The English sailor was undergoing a month’s imprisonment for deserting ; he complained bitterly, and was literally broken

down ; humbled he must have been, for the driver was a black man, with a cow skin in his hand.

Our attentive friends, M. HODGE and his lady, accompanied us in the afternoon to Belvidere ; they are on the point of embarking for Europe, on account of the health of the latter. The Missionaries wives I have been introduced to, are refined and accomplished ; but the climate and their duties, often undermine their health. Belvidere is a noble estate : the great house has a balcony thirty yards long, fronting the sea ; it may be one mile from the shore ; the cane grounds descend thereto, skirted by cocoa nut palms ; neighbouring and distant hills form an imposing back ground, and complete the panoramic spectacle. The sick house is a clean, commodious, handsome building, and the children and others confined under a prevalent epidemic, measles, well attended to : the negroes' cottages were like so many harbors in bowers of ever-greens ; and close at hand, the inmates had built a chapel at their own expense, spacious enough for hundreds ; neither mahogany, glass, nor doors, formed part of the structure ; but there was a pulpit, and one substantial adornment, simplicity, around and throughout ; service was performed in it every sabbath. An intelligent negro acted as our Ciceroné through the village, conducting us into his dwelling, where he waited on us with due politeness, in handing water : from the evident air of comfort around, I was certain that " Aristus would not be so amiable, were it



W.L. 1845

Thapel built by Apprentices on Belvidere Island

Thaddeus' 1845



not for his Aspasia; nor Aspasia so much esteemed were it not for her Aristus;’’ yet distress sits over those un aspiring seats. Count F——, the proprietor, a French nobleman, resides in France, and he is not at present liberally disposed. The provision grounds are in the mountains, and the watchmen being removed, cattle and thieves destroy the fruits of their exertions; so that instead of having provisions to sell, they suffer scarcity themselves, only being allowed one pound of salt fish per week; in crop time they are defrauded and overworked, and these teasing impositions, which are beneath a proprietor’s dignity, destroy their peace.

15th. We left Morant Harbor early on the twelfth, and came along the coast to Port Morant, then turned to the left into a mountainous district, reaching Bath to breakfast, a remarkably pretty village, celebrated for its hot sulphur spring: an avenue of trees (Tahitian apple) ornaments the street; their crimson blossoms were then falling, and literally strewed the ground with their ruby petals. We visited the botanic garden, which, for want of funds, is suffering from neglect; the head gardener, a negro, was conversible; we asked him whose property he, with two or three girls at work, were; he could not tell, but supposed they belonged to the garden. The Mico school interested us, though only established about three months, under the care of R——, from England; a new school room is about being

built, as the present one is too crowded: all the instruction is conveyed by singing, even to the multiplication table. The mistress after asking scripture questions, desired her little black pupils to question her on the patriarchs, and very pertinent their questions were. Schools on the Mico foundation are spreading rapidly, and will be the means of incalculable benefit. The funds have been obtained by a decision of Lord BROUGHAM's. Lady Mico, near two centuries ago, left a sum of money to redeem christians out of slavery in Africa; for want of claims the principal accumulated to one hundred and thirty thousand pounds. Lord BROUGHAM, then Chancellor, decided that he should best act up to the spirit of the will, by applying the interest to instruct negro children, or in other words, to aid in redeeming Africans from christian bondage: a happy decision. Government has aided the fund also by a very liberal grant; so that it is not easy to conceive the start which education has taken in Jamaica. In the afternoon we walked to the Sulphur Spring, one mile or more from town, up a deep ravine; a good road conducts the visitor, and bamboo sheds are erected about every hundred yards to protect him, should it rain. The water flows out at a temperature of 120°; baths have been erected, but few visitors are attracted. At a little distance a charitable bath house has been built, which is tumbling down. Iron pipes have also been laid to conduct the water to the town; the expense

was futile; they did not fall down like the St. David's chain bridge, but appear to have been blown up, and lie exposed and uncared for. The attendant, an apprentice, accommodated us with a delightful bath; solitude was one ingredient. We asked him who he belonged to: he believed to the water; how amusing! an apprentice to hot water! A good premium was also paid; but who received it? The water appeared to be his only companion, except a humming bird, which had built its nest on a branch close by the entrance. I was ashamed the British apprenticeship had found its way up this sublime gorge, and I felt a strong interest in this negro, but not so much pity as for others. I had rather be an apprentice in this deep solitude to hot spouting water, than in the open vale, to a dashing tread wheel. We revelled here amidst nature's loveliest growths, the scenery in that abyss being almost overpowering: numberless were the shades into which sunshine never peeped; the depths forbade not, but the foliage did. The tree fern is remarkably elegant, from twelve to twenty feet high, and crowned with its palmy tuft. The graceful bamboo pleased me exceedingly; its beautiful green canes, eighty or a hundred feet high, with their delicate foliage and pliant nodding stems were the acmé of elegance. Sometimes we were walking under the shades of these living masts; then they were seen waving on the hill sides and overtopping the nearest summit; they appeared placed

there as pastime for hurricanes, yet hurricanes hurt them not; they grow in clusters, and from their pliancy never clash; neighbour leans upon neighbour, and all are preserved. In the evening we walked to the top of the hills forming the ravine, and met with nature in her sublimest mood: she was very communicative; pointed out to us the blue mountains, which are her highest seat in Jamaica, and when night's curtain fell over them, she riveted our attention to the lesser elevations, and finally attended us into the valley to our lodgings: her company was charming; and admiration her only fee.

The next morning we pursued our journey to Manchineal, through part of Plantain Garden River district, a most verdant valley, devoted to cane cultivation: on our way we breakfasted at Belle Castle, the station of a Baptist Missionary, J. KINGDON; situated amongst woods, on the scar of a hill, commanding a noble sea view; the trade wind here felt bracing, after travelling some hours in the valley. It is not uncommon for the hill residents to complain of cold, with the thermometer at 79°. We were kindly entertained at J. K's., and very glad to accept his attention, fifteen miles being tedious in a hot sun, along unknown, indifferent roads: as we approached the house I disappointed the turkey buzzards of a breakfast; they were busy upon a yellow snake, dead but warm; I considered the skin my property so took the reptile into the gig. Some naturalists

say the (*vultur aura*) only feeds upon carrion ; others say they kill snakes, “ *lis sub judice est ;*” however, here they were round a snake reeking warm, and commencing their *dejeunér* without an individual in sight, who could have slain it ; circumstantial evidence was here strong that they can kill, and confirmed to my mind that they do not confine themselves to *game*. During the afternoon we visited a neighbouring estate, Happy Grove ; the resident proprietor, G. C——, Esq., is noted for his excellent manufacture of arrow root. Arrow root loves rich, moist, shaded soil ; its leaf is not unlike our lily of the valley, the root is the size of a large radish : this root is crushed into a pulp at a mill ; the pulp is mixed with water, agitated and repeatedly washed till perfectly clean, then allowed to settle ; afterwards it is dried gradually in a stove, and finally exposed to the sun ; after which it is packed up in its concrete form for market. Some of the younger apprentices on this estate, were wretched in their appearance, being much oppressed and diseased ; one was an “ *aboo*” boy, or dirt eater ; his master gave up all hopes of his recovery, as he always relapsed into the habit, when from under the strictest vigilance. In the evening we came on to Manchineal, and are visiting R. CHAMBERLAINE, a conscientious Special Magistrate, a coloured gentleman ; his situation is a trying one ; he succeeded a Magistrate who had the credit of being a planter’s man, and because he will not follow on in the same path, a combina-

tion has been formed against him; false charges have been drawn up, and presented to the Governor, with a petition for his removal; so violent is the feeling against him, he is doubtful of personal safety: after he has answered the charges, most likely a Commission of Inquiry will be appointed; he does not fear the result; he is much needed here. Reports of heavy grievances, in this neighbourhood, are already sounding in our ears.

I remain, &c.

LETTER XIII.

Kingston, 4th. Month, 22nd., 1837.

MY DEAR F——R.

I will endeavour in a summary way to run over the incidents which have come under our notice since arriving under R. CHAMBERLAINE'S hospitable roof, at Manchineal, on the 13th. T. HARVEY'S industrious pen will furnish fuller details ; he allows nothing of interest to pass by unnoticed, and his faithful delineations will be an evidence of his persevering industry. One morning we visited several estates : Williams' Field, Hector's River, Grange Hill. Though instructive, it is very unpleasant to visit estates with an unpopular magistrate. The overseers were however civil to us, but behaved as if they thought we were come to spy out the weakness of the land. My impressions are very unfavourable as to the working of the present system in this neighbourhood ; a persecuting spirit is rankling and active ; the sick houses are the worst I have seen. At Grange Hill we saw a Dr. W.—, the son of a methodist minister : he acknowledges he came out anti-slavery, but now confesses his

knowledge of the negroes' character has completely changed his views. A little farther explanation also crossed my mind, which he did not take into account, and which has been probably an important item in his conversion; viz.—that he is now living at a planter's table, and being paid from his purse. The following day the Court was opened at the Police Station. Dr. W.— called upon R. C.— on his way to the court; he had never attended before. During conversation with R. CHAMBERLAIN, he enquired, “shall you have many apprentices to ‘fum’ to-day, (meaning to flog,) because it would be something of a treat in this neighbourhood now you are here.” He said this as a sneer upon R. C.—, knowing he was not a flogging magistrate. We afterwards attended the Court, which was held at the Police Station, erected on a “wooded knoul,” and surrounded by similar wooded elevations: it is the site of an old fortification, part of the walls still exist, and assist in forming the court yard, in the corners of which are the solitary cells, damp with murky vapour. COWPER tells us “solitude has nothing gloomy in it, if the soul points upwards,” and I never beheld a more delightful place for solitude than this woody retreat; it was indeed as if “Birnam wood had come to Dunsinane.”

“Fair parks spread wide, where Adam Bell might reign,
With Clym o' the Clough were they alive again.”

The sight of those sepulchral closets, however, chased far away my rural reveries; I had only

to fancy one of the doors shut upon me, to introduce me to the horrors. Being thus, as it were, impelled back into my apprenticeship cogitations, when on the point of escape, my mind was again fitted to attend the Special Magistrate's Court, which, to say the least of it, was most disreputable to the planters. The following is a short outline of some of the cases: two women were brought up to be punished for disobedience; a month before, they consented, on certain conditions, to work over time, and when afterwards requested, they refused. R. C. inquired of the overseer, if he had performed his part of the contract, in affording the indulgences agreed to? No, he had not complied in any way. Neither shall I comply in punishing them, said R. C., or to that effect, and dismissed them: his predecessor would probably have sent them to the "shin mill." A man was charged with disobedience; he was a watchman, and as a punishment for theft, was ordered to work in the field; he went to busha for a hoe, one was not given to him, so he went elsewhere, and was therefore brought up to be punished. "Had the man," inquired the Magistrate, "a hoe given him to work with?" No. Dismissed. Another feeble crippled old man, whose office was hog tender, had been ordered not to open the gate to the Special Magistrate, when he came on to the estate; he acted contrariwise, having opened the gate; as a punishment he was ordered into the field, to work with a huge hoe,

and which he was not to sharpen in his master's time: the poor man produced a great rusty hoe, which might well daunt his weakly arms: R. C. told him he might mind his pigs, and look to him for protection. Another complained that he and his matties had to work task work against their consent; viz., each of them, per diem, to dig up six bushels of arrow root, and replant the ground; no matter whether the individual was strong or weak, or whether the crop was a good one or not, the same quantity was required. The proprietor, G. C., said, "I expect the apprentices will have their own way, but my turn will come soon;" alluding to the probability of R. C.'s removal from office: this case was deferred till the magistrate visited the estate. Another apprentice, from the same estate, wished to buy his freedom; his proprietor, to increase the valuation, said he was one of his best men, a carpenter and mason of good workmanship; on investigation, it came out that the man had doubtlessly, in the course of his life, sawn a board, and that five years before he had plastered a wall; but since then he had been in the field: he was valued at sixty pounds; his owner complained that it was not near enough, though to hired men he only gave one shilling per diem, which amounts to forty-five pounds for the remaining three years of servitude. Another apprentice wished to be valued; his master acknowledged he was a non-prædial, but said there was a verbal agreement betwixt them, entered into in 1834,

that if the indulgences were continued, he would work till 1840; on being questioned as to the agreement, he produced a written one signed in 1836; this being an illegal document, the valuation was deferred. Two women, one near her confinement, the other more distant, complained of being made to dig cane holes, a full quota; the overseer sent a letter to the Magistrate, which stated the opinion of their medical attendant to be, that they were both fit for field labour. R. C. chose to differ from that inhuman doctor, and to be guided by his own humanity, rather than by another's science. All the cases were of this tyrannical nature, the decisions gave great offence, and R. CHAMBERLAINE was openly insulted in his office; the ill will of the planters boiled over, and we were deeply convinced of the difficulty a conscientious Magistrate is subjected to; no sum can repay him, and with only one satisfaction, that of doing right; he is in hourly danger, from the Governor's yielding to the crafty designs of his enemies, of being displaced.

On Sabbath-day, the 16th, we went over to Belle Castle to breakfast. The chapel is attached to the house; the negroes soon began to assemble for worship; yes, an hour before the time,—it appeared to me that they were glad to leave the plantation, and come within the missionary enclosure. After morning service, we conversed with a few from each estate; their situation distressed us: this is an exceedingly oppressed dis-

trict. Many were the complaints we listened to, and many more we might have heard : but mere listening to grievances without the power of redressing them is heavy work : the most heart-rending were from Hector's River, an estate close at hand. For any or for no offence the poor negroes are shut up in the black hole for days together ; and they are become so sickly and feeble, their numbers are reducing fast : deaths take place daily. The manager has a character for unmitigated oppression, though he has only one foot out of the grave ; one of his sides is paralysed, yet his persecutions cease not. This individual we did not see when we visited the estate the day before ; but we saw another overseer, BROWN, very lame and infirm ; and his bitterness is as intense as the manager's. The apprentices say their poultry is taken without any acknowledgment ; that their grounds are robbed of vegetables ; and that they are in danger of being famished : the tale of miseries perpetrated on this estate has completely *hected* my mind. Properties managed in this way will be useless after 1840 ; many of the negroes will be dispirited and infirm, and those who have strength left, will remove elsewhere. Time occupied in hearing complaints from these oppressed and heart-broken sufferers whose chief comfort seemed to arise from attending worship at the peaceful residence of their ministers, passed painfully.

In the evening we returned to Manchineal, and the following morning we rode to Windsor Forest,

nine miles distant, to breakfast. The road part of the way followed the sinuosities of the coast, with lofty crags on our left hand : these in Europe would have been naked or covered with moss ; here they were clothed from bottom to top by a creeping plant, with leaves as large as those of a gourd ; its local name is “five fingered,” from its leaves being digitated ; their effect was most elegant ; spread over the whole face of the precipice, as if in the tropics, even rocks could produce the most lavish luxuriance. The scene was novel to us, yet one which an artist’s skill might have compassed : every item of the combination was so well defined, aswell as the colouring.

Forthwith the Limner, with his pliant brush,
 And with his colours, pallet, and his easel,
 First paints a river, and then paints a rush,
 The Milk Weed, Golden Rod, and prickly Teasel ;
 Upon his canvass he transplants the scene,
 Rivers and rocks embowered in evergreen.

This estate belongs to a local magistrate, QUELSH ; he bought it cheap, being out of cultivation, and the slaves sold off ; the situation is fine, on an elevation two miles from the sea ; here, as is often the case, the children of the domestic apprentices walked about the house and parlour as if it were their own, and stared knowingly at us. One seemed rather ahead of his playmates : we learnt he was an incorrigible runaway, and

was very lately released from the house of correction, having been sent there to reform him. He had been found in a trash house, burrowed deep in the magass, with a hoard of sugar cane stored up as a provident supply, similar to a squirrel or marmot. The ingress and egress of domestics in and out of the houses savors too much of republican freedom for an Englishman. Their office is to fetch and carry if anything is wanted; for this purpose no name is called, but "somebody," "somebody," must do so and so; this somebody may be man, woman, or child; and as what is every one's office is no one's, it required many repetitions of the word "somebody," to fetch one real body. After breakfast we walked over the grounds; there was no appearance of cane fields, brushwood having grown up; and yet a tumbling down crushing mill, which had been worked by water, and a boiling house, were evidences of former prosperity. The plantain ground was in the greatest vigour, and beneath such a "thyrsus of leaves" I never walked. The leaves are nearly as large of those of the *cocos nucifera*; undivided and of a green hue, as smooth as velvet. Many of these palms had their huge single bunch of plantains, counting several dozens hanging from a single stalk; their size is that of small girkins. I did not see in Demerara so flourishing a plantain walk, in which colony great anxiety is felt, lest this most useful tree should become extinct. Of late years a cankerous disease has attacked it, and

caused much devastation; a premium has been offered for a remedy. The banana tree is of the same genus, but its fruit is considered coarser.

We afterwards walked to a neighbouring estate, the Grange, in Portland, also out of cultivation; the negroes are still attached, consequently they form a jobbing gang, and their services are hired out. In going through the wood, one of the large yellow harmless snakes was coiled round the top of a sappling, just strong enough to bear it; it made no attempt to get away, and when assaulted only hissed defiance; as flight was its only chance of safety, and as it disdained to make use of those means, with which nature had supplied it, I took possession of it, for a specimen, on the ground of laying claim to all snakes which will not get out of the way: a small black snake is much more frequently seen, than these larger ones; the yellow snake is said to be good eating; in appearance its flesh is as white as that of a chicken. On reaching the Grange, we went to the negro village, and inspected several of the huts, which are tumbling down; nevertheless, each contains two or three families, with a mere pretence of furniture about them; these poor apprentices have had no clothing for two years, and are in such desolation, language cannot describe their destitution: the labour of these poor wretches, was lately sold for six hundred pounds, to 1840; they are now working at William's Field, near to Manchineal. We sat sometime in the great

house, and conversed with the proprietor, or manager, I forget which : several young ladies grown up, made their appearance ; I could not but reflect if they had been educated in England, with what sympathy they would have regarded such extreme wretchedness, existing within one hundred yards of their own residence.

On the 18th. early, we left Manchineal ; J. K. met us on the road, and kindly accompanied us to Amity Hall, in the Plantain Garden River district, the Eden of Jamaica. Amity Hall is remarkable for having a married resident manager, a Mr. KIRKLAND, who is also joint attorney ; this is owing to the proprietor, though an absentee, being a religious character. We staid dinner as well as breakfast, were most hospitably entertained, and we quite enjoyed being in an accomplished family circle : this estate is said to return nine thousand pounds per annum, so it does not suffer for having an accomplished lady at the head of the domestic department ; the general plan is, if a manager marries to dismiss him the estate. The cane mill here was worked by a water wheel, the first I had seen : the distillery was very complete. Still houses occupy as much room as the boiling and curing houses together, from the necessity of having so many fermenting vats ; these are very large wooden tanks, arranged side by side, in which the liquor undergoes fermentation, to prepare it for the still, and each must contain as much as the largest still, from ten to twelve hundred

gallons: the component parts of the liquor are the scummings of the hot cane juice, lees or feculencies from former distillations, which act the part of yeast, a small proportion of molasses, and water: the colour is added to the rum afterwards, the spirit coming over colourless, as all spirits do. Yet so accustomed was my mind to associate straw colour with rum, that when my vision pointed out the limpid crystal fluid, as the article, I was partially disposed to doubt the fact: such a sight as an extensive still-house, is enough to make a tee-totaller despair; he might well pine, to consider that every acre of good cane, producing three hogsheads of sugar, produces two hundred gallons of rum; yet temperance may exist, in the very focus of distillation; the black distiller had not tasted spirits for years; and it is remarkable, that with rum always, as it were, before them, negros should be very seldom seen under its influence; in fact, a tipsy black is a "*rara avis*," and they are never seen to "run a muck."

The "great house" is at a little distance on rising ground, commanding a coup d'œil of the whole plain; hundreds and thousands of acres of canes may be seen at one glance. A school house has been erected near, and a pleasing young man sent out by the Church Missionary Society has charge of it. We were pleased with the good order of the children; many were absent; at present the measles prevail, which may be one cause. During

the day we visited a very celebrated estate, Golden Grove ; attorney, THOMAS M'cCORNOCK, Esq., custos of the parish, answering to our Lord Lieutenant. The extent of this estate is two thousand acres ; apprentices five hundred ; and it exports near six hundred hogheads of sugar : “ *communibus annis.* ” All the arrangements, buildings, machinery, et cet., are of a very superior description. A very neat Chapel, with a tower and clock close to the principal dwelling, was built by the tradesmen of the estate during the slave regime ; and such was the interest evinced by the slaves for religion, that they subscribed twenty pounds to buy a communion service cup ; it has been appropriately engraved ; much might be said on this occurrence. The hospital is also a handsome building, with separate apartments ; as in others, there were here many inmates laid up by measles.

There was such an air of prosperity and taste about Golden Grove, that I expected if the apprenticeship was working well any where, this was the place ; dissatisfaction however existed on both sides, and I am sure the negroes had cause. They were short of provisions ; whereas T. M'cCORNOCK said that during slavery they sent abundance to market. It is surprising to me they have any supply at all : their provision grounds are miles away in the mountains ; the watchmen are removed ; and as they are not fenced off, they are exposed to the trampling of cattle, and to thieves.

Whilst we were standing near the mill, an apprentice brought in a bundle of dead rats. These vermine are remarkably destructive to the canes, and are so numerous in the Plantain Garden River district, that rat-catching is a necessary occupation for an apprentice; and he is expected to destroy a large number every week. There are also alligators in some of the water courses. In the evening, our road to Bath lay through the length of this fertile garden. As we approached this picturesque village, we left the canes behind, for pasture fields, which in general are of Guinea grass: this valuable herbage was introduced accidentally by some seeds being thrown away, which a captain of a vessel had brought over from Africa to feed some birds with. The birds having died, those seeds, instead of sustaining the feathered tribe, have become the means of a valuable sustenance for cattle, which are very fond of the grass; and it is as plentiful as sweet, growing very luxuriantly.

We spent a quiet pleasant evening at Bath; feasted on the "mountain crab," and endeavoured to do so on the "jack fruit." The land or "mountain crab" is considered a great delicacy, and over some other delicacies it has one advantage, that of not being scarce: it has a migratory amphibious nature, crawling down to the sea once a year, and there abiding during the spawning season: they return weak and exhausted, to their burrows in the woods, where they recover their

condition, after casting their shell, and are then in season; they are taken in the night, when they feed; and a negro frequently has this specific employment, furnishing so many per week. MONTGOMERY MARTIN says, "those that feed in grave yards are the fattest, and richest in flavour," and that in Jamaica, "people talk of being food for crabs, as we do in England of being food for worms." The "jack fruit" is as large as a pumpkin, growing on a tree the size of a horse chesnut, though not so spreading; but a taste for the pulp has to be acquired; if the smell was agreeable, this would be easier; but Pomona, in one of her vagaries, having made this forbidding, she must not be surprised if the other is disapproved. The bread fruit tree, brought by Captain BLIGH, from Otaheite, is about the size of the one last mentioned, and ornamental; as regards its fruit, I know but little; it was not in perfection at the time of our visit, and little was said in its favour; where there are so many fruits, and a succession of them always tempting the palate, with only the trouble of gathering, it may be that an insipid one is only held in secondary estimation. The papaw I have mentioned before; Dr. MADDEN alludes to a circumstance respecting it, of which I heard mention several times, but had no opportunity of testing the fact; that "the milky juice which exudes from the tree, (on excision,) is thought to possess the property of rendering the toughest

meat tender when dressed over with it ;” he then adds, “ HUMBOLDT says, in comparing the milky juices of the papaw, the cow tree, and the hevea, (from which the Indian rubber is procured,) “ there appears to be a striking analogy between the juices which abound in caseous matter, and those in which caoutchouc prevails, and the ultimate principle of cheese is caoutchouc ;” “ no wonder,” says the Doctor, “ that cheese should be indigestible, if one cannot eat Stilton, without swallowing Indian rubber.”

On the 19th we rose early, and road over the Coonah Coonahs to Alta Monte and Moore Town. the former a Scotch, the latter a Maroon settlement.* This is a magnificent ride for scenery, over a mountain mule-path; the ascent to the gap is six miles, descent five, and the distance through the valley of the Rio Grandé to Moore Town, four miles; the path is through an unbroken forest. These mountains are three thousand feet above the sea, and their tops are as verdant as their bases. “ It is not only the giants of the forest that are to be found there; the graceful rivals of the inmates of our conservatories are to be seen in all the native bloom of the wild beauty that delights in liberty.” It is North Wales clothed with the trees of Worcestershire; unbroken forests, festoons of creepers, parasitical plants, tree ferns of

* The Maroons were originally slaves, who rebelled, and obtained their liberty, and have resisted any attempt to reduce them again to bondage.

elegant aspect, lofty bamboos with their spiral waving summits, are on every hand. It is a ride of four hours through unnumbered exotics, shaded from the sun, in an enjoyable temperature; the tree ferns and bamboo clumps were ever varied, ever new. Dr. MADDEN observes—"for picturesque beauty, the clumps of the bamboo, which line some of the mountain roads, exceed, in the depth of shade and gracefulness of umbrage, all other descriptions of natural arbours." These simple reeds however make more noise than all the trees of the forest; the zephyrs playing amongst their feathery heights agitate the canes, which being in contact rub against each other: this grating is not unlike the labouring sound of heavy machinery. It is listened to with attention amidst the stillness of solitude's own domain; in these forest wilds silence is intense, and it is made more evident by an occasional plaintive note of some concealed bird, or by the clattering of the canes: this last was very pleasant, giving rise to much imagery in my mind, as the sounds increased and died away. We had pleasure in visiting Alta Monte; it is a very recent Scotch settlement, under the superintendence of A. G. JOHNSTON. Each family has a cottage, and a grant of twenty acres, on which they are expected to build themselves a house, and then resign their first cottage to some other new comer. The first six families are already located; their gardens are enclosed; each has a cow. They have nearly completed a

new road, on the way to Moore Town, through the valley. The climate is pleasant, and as yet everything smiles. The men are in high spirits; the women are less so, their little wants being at present indifferently supplied. There are other settlements of this kind on the island; they are much encouraged by the House of Assembly; each settlement has a grant of three thousand pounds, sterling, with which to begin operations. The plan is to introduce the industrious habits of the Scotch amongst the negroes; and this settlement on the confines of Moore Town, may have good results, as this seems a rational method of developing the resources of Jamaica: "*video meliora, proboque.*" A. G. JOHNSTON is a scientific man, he regards the cottagers as his children, feeling a parent's interest towards them. His intended residence was building on a height, overlooking the vale: a Maroon was the builder, and young Maroon women were the serving masons, carrying the lime and sand up the hill on their heads: they are a fine intelligent looking people, having escaped from the debasement of slavery which greatly disfigures the "human form divine." The Maroons are a proof that slavery has this effect, for they are noble in mien. H. MARTINEAU observes—"It is usual to call the most depressed slaves brutish in appearance; in some sense they are so; but I never saw in any brute an expression of countenance so low, so lost, as in the most degraded class of negroes. There

is some life and intelligence in the countenance of every mind, even in that of the silly sheep." What a heavy responsibility rests upon those who have thus been reducing man below the "silly sheep!" and yet how unwilling is he to make amends for the evil done.

"Man will not follow when a rule is shown,
But loves to take a method of his own;
Explain the way with all your care and skill,
This will he quit, if but to prove he will."

We rode over to Moore Town; two miles, a singularly beautiful village, by the banks of the Rio Grandé, not an unsightly rocky bed, but a plentiful stream; here was the site for nature's grand display of luxuriant fancies: slender withes were running up stately trees, and, as it were, mocking their supporting friends, by the most extraordinary display of seed pods, several feet in length, and filled with seeds, two inches broad, some of which are in my possession. The Maroon village is picturesque; the cottages are scattered singly on several eminences, surrounded by nobler mountains; it numbers six hundred inhabitants, and they are very anxious for the maintenance of proper and appointed religious observances: at the time of our visit, these were unfortunately suspended, from some jealousies between the Bishop and the Church Missionary Society, which had stationed a Minister here. The Maroons have the presence of a government superintendent,

(at present Captain WRIGHT) who decides their differences by court martial; they pay no taxes, and have their own form of government, or rather need no government. It has been the policy of the Jamaica legislature to prevent intimacy between the Maroons and negroes; to effect this, the Maroons are rewarded with so many dollars for each deserting negro they will deliver up; and so debasing is an unholy love of gain, the Maroons are said first to entice them away from the estates, and then surrender them for the bribe. We called on Captain WRIGHT, he was from home; but his lady, with the utmost refinement, welcomed us into an apartment, *recherché* with shells and curiosities; no grisly warder looked frowning from a castellated buttress, suspicious of every one's approach, and treating friends the same as enemies; no, Captain WRIGHT's house has a portal of confidence, supported by wings of friendship.

"Nor doth its entrance front in vain,
To eld Iona's holy fane."

Safety is its outward enclosure, that outward enclosure is the "wild Maroon." Captain WRIGHT has held his present office six years, a proof that his situation is not unpleasant.

At the following break of day we were off, over the Coonah Coonahs.

“ As the calm morn, in the cerulean East,
With cheek of rose, and golden sandall'd foot,
Left her divine pavilion, to salute
With smiles, the world.

Long do the novel features of this extraordinary ride, deserve to be dwelt on; I could not sufficiently admire the spiral path, winding for miles amongst the unmolested monarchs of the hills, like an inexplicable labyrinth; occasionally allowing a peep into the vista, and disclosing wonders and beauties, as yet little known to the world; till at last reaching the gap, it descends in a similar manner into the vale beneath. The mind seems inclined to send forth a pressing invitation to the lovers of Dovedale, and to the explorers of Matlock, come hither and see;— or in the words of WATERTON—“ Kind and gentle reader, if the few remarks in these wanderings shall have any weight in inviting thee to sally forth, and explore these vast and well-stored regions, I have gained my end.” To avoid for a few days noticing any commoner track, suffice it to say, we again reached Kingston on the date of this letter.

30th. During the past week we have spent a day at Spanish Town, on a visit to J. M. PHILIPPO, the Baptist Missionary. His large and handsome Chapel is on one side of his dwelling, and as imposing in appearance as any one in Birmingham. On the other side, is the Metropolitan School for boys and girls, well arranged under one roof, having a gateway to divide the

apartments, which is an advantage, the noise of one school not interrupting the other. Each school has one hundred and forty children on the list, and one hundred in pretty regular attendance. Their clothing is simple, but their general appearance equal, if not superior, to charity scholars in England. The mistress of the girls' school appeared to me a clever matron, but a defective teacher, on account of her deafness. The monitors were not kept up to their duty; one large class read pretty well, but mumbled and muttered as negro children are apt to do; their needle work deserved all commendation. There are not many Missionary stations in the world which can surpass J. M. PHILIPPO'S in general appearance: having his neat residence centered between a very handsome meeting house and substantial school rooms. At this Chapel he preaches twice in the Sabbath, and once during the week; close employment in this climate. But is this all? by no means. He has two other stations: one at Sligo Ville, nine miles distant, the other near Fort Augusta, about eight miles. We attended the week day evening service. Behind the pulpit is a circular gallery, where the scholars sit; it is appropriate that they should elevate their innocent voices in heavenly hymns, near to their minister. Schools and Chapels engross all the energies of these devoted Missionaries: when Jamaica rises in the scale of Nations, they must have the credit, for they are the willing husbandmen.

Spanish Town is unattractive; and having said so, I have few comments to add. The Government square, containing the House of Assembly, and the Governor's residence, are creditable; but the Baptist Missionary station is that which is worth seeing. The situation of the town is very indifferent; perhaps the Spaniards built it to be more out of sight of the Indians, or for the benefit of good water: it is on a plain, without any sea view, but watered by the Rio Cobre. Such a capital scarcely deserves a good road, and the House of Assembly have provided a bad one. The distance to Kingston is only thirteen miles; the road is nearly level, and consequently it ought to be faultless, whereas it is very indifferent. If each member of the House of Assembly had but one rheumatic joint, to be tortured by the deep holes, causing jolts innumerable, as they are full of dust, and therefore cannot be avoided, it might lead to a remedy; this however is not the land of "rheum or podagrum." Some time since there was a daily coach to Kingston; but after repeated efforts it was given up, being daily set fast, from the unevenness of the road, and the debility of the horses, and the passengers having to abandon it at times mid-way. We understand, since we landed at Jamaica, there has been a slight earthquake, sufficient to awaken the people of Spanish Town; the Kingstonites slept through it; so that it was not very alarming. The Governor, Sir LIONEL SMITH, is at present absent on a tour

round the island. He did an act of kindness at Savannah-la Mar, having liberated a woman from gaol, a victim of oppression. This mal-treated apprentice purchased her freedom some months ago; the valuation was paid into the magistrate's hands; but her owner complaining of the amount, the stype would not give her the ticket of freedom. She left, and was apprehended as a runaway, and committed to gaol, where, as I understood, she was confined with her fifteenth child. In this case a Special Magistrate received the price of freedom, and then refused a ticket, though he retained the money; an oppressor receiving four hundred and fifty pounds per annum, public money, and having sworn faithfully to administer the Abolition Act! this was too gross for Sir LIONEL SMITH to coincide with. I have also seen a letter from R. CHAMBERLAINE, of Manchineal; he expresses himself as considering his life in imminent danger, the planters having become highly incensed against him; he is the first conscientious magistrate that has presided there; the previous one, DAWSON, was their tool; to inquire into whose conduct Lord SLIGO appointed a commission, his mal-administration having been carried on with the utmost boldness. Sir LIONEL SMITH, on assuming the Government, quashed the commission, only removing DAWSON to another part of the island. Sir LIONEL SMITH has a larger income than any previous Governor, from his determination of holding, "*eodem tempore*," the office of

Commander-in-Chief, which has hitherto been distinct; as he is of a parsimonious disposition, he is supposed to be laying by eight thousand pounds per annum.

By the last packet I have received a very acceptable letter from my mother; her previous one, and SAMPSON'S, have missed their aim. I imagine a surgeon in the army of my name, stationed at St. Lucia, has had the benefit of them, which is my great loss. I have no doubt the letters will be profitable to every one perusing them, yet it is unpleasant to write for unknown individuals. I am glad mine as yet have escaped similar mishaps, and hoping this may also,

I remain, &c.

LETTER XIV.

Kingston, 5th. Month, 7th., 1837.

MY DEAR F——R.

WE had a pleasant excursion last week, passing through St. David's into St. George's in the East. Saints are very numerous in Jamaica, and some of them very tall, (St. Catherine is five thousand feet high.) Our object was to visit Captain KENT, a Special Magistrate, who resides amongst the Port Royal mountains: S. BOURNE kindly accompanied us. We left Grecia Regale in the afternoon, and turning our backs on St. Andrews, we commenced a zigzag mountain ascent of eight miles, which brought us to Guava Gap, and there we entered St. David's: these spiral roads, or king's paths, were made by the different parishes, and are remarkably good; they form one of Jamaica's prominent features: a descent of five miles brought us to the Yallahs river; one feature in the scene was stationary before us, the Blue Mountain Peak; other parts were changing their positions and characters every few minutes, as we descended; suffice it to say, it was Jamaica scenery, unrivalled

for magnificence; the above is the same stream which has the chain bridge over it, nearer the coast, it is the great outlet of the Port Royal mountains: these mountains have the same grand features as the Coonah Coonahs, with this difference, the latter are clothed with their native evergreens, whilst the former are, in great part, denuded, having been cleared for coffee plantations, which are on all sides, with their mills and their barbecues; hence the trees are too sparse to check the view; the eye can range over the mountain heights, in all directions; no clouds obstruct or strike chilliness; far otherwise, the higher we ascend the more comfortable we are, the more salubrious is the climate. After crossing Yallahs river, we ascended again to Captain KENT's residence, which is the "great house" of the Robertsfield estate, situated on a mountain side, over the margin of the river; it is a large substantial house of hewn stone, and cost many thousand pounds building; yet there is no enclosed garden, perhaps on the principle, that the whole island is one; neither is there paddock or lawn; but coffee trees, pimento, and withered grass; coffee and pimento are not, however, all that a family require; they have, therefore, to send mules to Kingston near twenty miles, for their other supplies, which is one little drawback to a residence in the Port Royal Mountains, a second is having to carry all their water a quarter of a mile up the precipice, from the river. These

residences and roads could not have been made in a thinly peopled country, unless by the coerced labour of slaves: every stone of this house had to be carried from the bed of the river, and the same may be said of others much higher than it.

Captain KENT, with his accomplished lady and daughter, were truly hospitable; he is an upright Special Magistrate, and by preserving his independence, in not tasting the sops of the planters, has been enabled to move on in an upright course; he has suffered a little annoyance where he least expected it. On coming out from England, a relation by marriage, (Dr. S——.) offered him the excellent residence of an estate, Chester Vale, rent free, of which Dr. S—— was trustee; but on finding that Captain K. would not allow the apprentices to be imposed upon, he gave him an intimation to leave the house: Captain K. was desired to change the provision grounds of the whole gang; that is, to make them break up fresh grounds at great labour, and at a most inconvenient distance; and also to make an old nurse, who during slavery, from her age and services, had ceased from field labour, again to resume it, and to walk several miles every day for that purpose, to another estate; Captain KENT preferred changing his residence to wounding his conscience; knowing that externals were of secondary importance.

“Without was Paradise, because within
Was a keen relish, without taint of sin.”

Dr. S—— is said to have made a fortune by croaking: during the agitation of the emancipation bill, he encouraged the belief that the colonies were ruined, that the compensation would never be paid; during the panic of fear, he bought up slaves for a trifle; the compensation money came, and it enriched him; so that the twenty millions have been “ways and means” in many ways.

During our visit Captain K. accompanied us to Clifton Mount Estate, situated at the foot of St. Catherine’s Peak; probably the highest coffee plantation in the island, being upwards of four thousand feet above the sea; its coffee is celebrated. From thence we went to Cold Spring, on the side of the Peak, through Content Gap: this was formerly the residence of the WALLENS’. The house is in ruin; but trees which they planted still remain, proving that the stone and mortar work of man cannot vie with the tenants of the hills. There we met with a darling English oak, disdaining to live with the exotics in the vale, still retaining its dignity, and aspiring to the loftiest pinnacle; the Scotch fir was in full vigour, gorse luxuriant, strawberry plants around, and ripe blackberries, some of which we gathered; amongst them grew the tea tree vigorously; since here, as in the plain below, Phœbus

“forbad the snow,
From cold Estotiland: and south, as far
Beneath Magellan.”

How noble was the prospect! the sea in sight on both the northern and southern shores of the island; on one side was the Blue Mountain Peak, on the other Kingston, Port Royal, and Spanish Town. In England, at such an elevation, there would be a clear prospect once in a while, here daily; except in the rainy season, the Blue Peak is quite sufficient to support the few fleecy clouds which require a resting place.

It was delightful once more to feel European buoyancy, from a little nearer approach to the "cold north;" the thermometer, at the time of our visit to Clifton Mount, was 73° Fahrenheit; it is frequently much lower in the day, and always in the night. After a short residence in a temperature of 85° , when the thermometer sinks to 75° , with the sea breeze blowing, there is no oppression from heat. C. CHISHOLM, the intelligent attorney of Clifton Mount, paid us every attention, and pointed out to us many objects of interest; near the steps of his residence I observed some little blackies very busy; on going up to them I found they were picking chigoes out of each other's feet; this is an insect like a flea, but it can introduce its whole body beneath the skin, far easier than a flea can insert its piercer; it makes its domicile on the toes, burying itself beneath the skin, and there lays its eggs, which are enclosed in a covering; these vermes on hatching, give the first notice of their presence, by a delightful itching. I have been told it was a proof of the true creole dis-

position, for a lady to be partial to a chigoe in her foot, the itching forming a pleasing accompaniment to her languor; the nest, however, must not remain unextracted too long, or a troublesome sore will be the consequence. Negroes are very skilful in extracting the chigoe bag unbroken, and there is in most families one domestic, to whom the office is entrusted. From experience I can say, I had rather have the itching of three chigoes, than the puncture of one *pulex*. On our return to Robertsfield, I reflected upon the duties of a magistrate in this Alpine district: imagine a stype perched upon the top of Snowdon, Ben Lomond, Ben Nevis, or Helvellyn; give him a dozen estates about the neighbouring mountains to visit, and fancy him scouring these hills in a hot sun, in pursuit of quarrels and bickerings! if on Helvellyn, away he strides forth for Striden Edge, then scrambles up Catch e de Cam, as if his motto was, "catch who I can," and by the evening, he has become acquainted with complaints and dissatisfactions enough, to introduce his mind into a state of discomfort, destroying all that composure which nature's sublimity ought to inspire.

Though the king's roads from one parish to another are very good, the private roads from one estate to another are very indifferent, of which this day's experience convinced me. Our road was at times up the bed of the river Yallahs; then climbing banks amongst bushes; then down into

the water again. In such a neighbourhood it is very pleasant for once to say I have been such and such an excursion, but far otherwise to say, I go weekly. The Special Magistrates in Jamaica have been more than decimated, twenty-six are said to have died; one is known to have met his end raging mad; the number stationed on the island is sixty. One gentleman was too cunning to be caught; he would not engage himself to the office, till he had seen the nature of it; he came out and visited a Special Magistrate a friend of his, before settling down at the station he had in prospect; he accompanied his friend a few rides, and quickly made up his mind to return, saying, I shall have spent one hundred pounds by the time I reach England, but I had rather do so, than ride amongst blue mountains in danger of the "blues," at the risk of my neck, and hunting after contention. Dr. MADDEN observes—"The Special Magistrates had some of them thirty miles of country to be scoured in every direction, in daily pursuit of litigation." It has not been possible for a Special Magistrate to go through his engagements with a due regard to his health and personal comfort, without being on good terms with the planters. The magistrate has to visit every estate under his jurisdiction, within stated periods, I believe every fortnight. If he is regarded as a friend to the properties, on leaving home, he breakfasts at one, dines at a second, and sleeps at a third; and in this way goes his round, and on returning can rest during the inter-

vening time; whereas, if managers close their hospitalities against him, he must ride out, and return home each evening, to the imminent risk of his health, from constant fatigue; hence, from the necessities of the case, the kindnesses of planters towards the Special Magistrates, have been too much like placing bits in their mouths, to lead them wherever they chose; and they who have partaken of the sops and baits held out to tempt them, have quickly lost that independence, without which it is impossible to perform the duties of the office uprightly; their salaries have been advanced from three hundred to four hundred and fifty pounds sterling per annum, yet this is found barely sufficient where an individual has to keep two horses, as many do. We felt quite indebted to Captain KENT and his lady for the information and kindness received at their hands. On leaving, the following acrostic crossed my imagination:—

Robertsfield, O! do not think
 Of English fields where dew drops blink;
 Blue and royal mountains here,
 Every form, and size appear;
 Ragged rocks, and rugged ways;
 Travellers with fearful gaze,
 See the winding puzzling maze.

Fruitful nature here unfolds,
 In her hand her treasure holds;
 Evergreens of beauteous form,
 Lift their waving plumes to morn,
 Defying hurricanes and storm.

On our return to Grecia Regale we met with HORACE KIMBALL, who was paying a visit there. He was one of the American Anti-Slavery Society's agents, sent out to investigate the working of the Apprenticeship in the West Indies. We had met him and his companion, J. A. THOME, previously in Kingston. H. K. told us his American independence had been set at nought the previous morning. Walking in the road, he was at once accosted, and informed he must serve on a jury, then about to sit on a negro woman found dead some distance off. He was a foreigner, in delicate health, and had not breakfasted; no excuse would serve; the law was, that the jury should be formed of any twelve men that could be found, and his services they must have. Nine of the jury were overseers. After walking near a mile, they saw the body lying in the road: it was that of a woman, who had left the Half-Way-Tree house of correction the day before, and had died before she could reach home: she had been committed as a runaway, for fourteen days, during which time she danced the tread wheel. The Magistrate who committed her, is a humane man, and thought she was hardly fit for the tread mill; the doctor of the estate assured him she was; the woman is said to have complained to her acquaintances of harsh treatment, and to have said, "if she ever lived to reach home, she would persuade her massa's negros never to go to Half-Way-Tree, as it would

kill them." The jury decided that she came to her death, from some cause unknown, and without any inquiry, as to her treatment in the workhouse; I have seen a Magistrate since, who happened to visit the workhouse before she left, and he noticed one of the women on the wheel was dreadfully exhausted; I doubt not, it was the same individual.*

The hill sides for the last week have been extremely gay, with the large American aloe, (*agave Americana*,) which is now in blossom; they are very numerous, and a most noble ornament for these noble hills; the flowering stem runs fifteen or twenty feet, towards the top of which are its large bright yellow flowers in beautiful clusters; I have looked again and again, to see if I could trace any semblance betwixt them, and our sickly exotics. "Sight," they say, "is a lively infective sense, and carrieth many persuasions to the heart, which ruleth all the rest;" mine has convinced me, that an English green house affords a very sickly existence for an (*agave Americana*.) In Jamaica the leaves, during the day, are too hot to bear the hand upon, and yet a strong breeze is blowing all around; what conservatory can assimilate to this? I am in-

* H. KIMBALL died of consumption, (*phthisis pulmonalis*,) a few months after his return to America. For KIMBALL and THOME's published account of this inquest, see page 422 of their Emancipation in the West Indies, which is a most interesting and valuable work.

clined to think the next improvement for green houses, should be, to introduce the trade wind.

There is not a great variety of humming birds in Jamaica ; they have interested me less than the mocking bird, (*sylvia dominica* ;) which though plain in plumage, has great skill in melody, and is valued as standing unrivalled in excellence.

Sylvia the joyous mocking bird,
Is the songster should be heard ;
It sings with a delightful pipe,
When canes and goodly fruits are ripe ;
Varied and cheerful is its song,
Low and rapid, loud and long ;
Living amongst Jamaica's flowers,
It sings alone amidst the bowers.

Sligo Ville, 10th.

Two days ago we came over to Spanish Town, intending to go together to Jericho, on a visit to the Baptist minister, J. CLARKE ; feeling very feverish, I concluded to let T. H. go forward alone,* and to rest quietly one day. J. M. PHILIPPO then accompanied me to this Mountain Mission Station, established by him a few years since, to instruct the benighted ; and besides the pleasure of doing good, he has the benefit of a change of air ; for at this elevation, between two

* This little indisposition terminated with an attack of "prickly heat," which affected the skin like scarlet fever ; this complaint which is said to attack "new comers," was my last tropical annoyance.

and three thousand feet above the sea, the climate is delightful; his garden produces carrots, peas, and potatoes. I enjoy the change, for Kingston and Spanish Town are much too hot for my comfort. The road partakes of those characters and features previously described, as common to Jamaica mountain paths; the distance may be eight miles, and we brought the gig half way, completing the rest on horseback; wild, luxuriant, and varied were the views: here and there a patch was burnt for a provision ground. In this way the apprentices in mountainous districts maintain themselves; they burn and clear a plot of ground, and then plant their yams. The soil in the vale near Spanish Town, and up part of the ascent, was remarkably red, (*subpinguis crocea*;) it is fertile and very favourable for the growth of oranges. Not having said as much before, I will just say now that Jamaica is one hundred and fifty miles long, by forty broad. I have not obtained the exact population; the following is an approach to the truth:—apprentices, three hundred thousand; free-coloured, ten thousand; Maroons, two thousand; whites, including the army, thirty-five thousand. Spanish Town or St. Jago-de-la-Vega, is very much smaller than Kingston, not numbering ten thousand inhabitants. The Government is composed of the Governor, who at present is Lord Chancellor and Commander in-Chief; the Legislative Council consisting of twelve; and the House of Assembly of forty-three Members. At

Spanish Town we again enjoyed the company of R. HILL, a Special Magistrate, and Secretary for that department. He thinks the only chance for the apprenticeship to have worked at all comfortably, would have been by combining three other provisions. First. That no courts should be held at planters' houses. Secondly. That apprentices cruelly used, should be entitled to their freedom. Thirdly. That planters should have no controul over nursing mothers, and those about to nurse; and that a proper provision should be made for the free children; at present they depend upon their mothers for a living, whose time is claimed by the planters.

The apprenticeship system, as now worked, is a wicked one: *exempli*.—J. M. PHILIPPO knew an individual attending his congregation who wished to be baptized, and become a member; ere the proper time arrived she died. On inquiry he found she was taken ill; the overseer said it was sham, and ordered her to the field; feeling herself unable, she came into town for medicine; a doctor gave her a certificate, certifying her incapability. Her master on reading it, came into town, abused the medical man; said he would make the woman work; vain boast! death claimed her. The poor woman has been buried three weeks. Recently a man complained of illness; he was not allowed to rest, but ordered a quart of salt water with jalape; he said he was too ill to take it; he was not allowed any thing else, and shortly died.

A woman very lately, with an infant, called upon a magistrate in Spanish Town, saying she was turned out of her master's town house, and ordered to his estate in the country. The child was so ill she thought it would die on the way, so came to the magistrate for advice, who kindly sheltered her two days, when the infant died. He was threatened with prosecution for harbouring a runaway. This distressed mother was the mistress of that master who ordered her out. Evil is so rife here, that little brightness is to be seen, save amongst the Missionaries and their coadjutors. At Sligo Ville, where I now write, are three orphans, housed and sheltered by J. M. PHILIPPO, who feelingly knows "*mens descendo alitur*;" he has therefore taken these three neglected children: "*in loco parentis, ad monendum et docendum*:" they are grandchildren of Lord KENYON, who sent out a natural son to be an overseer; and he having died, these his children are destitute. Morality cannot advance fast, till conscientious governors are sent out, who, by example, shall endeavour to stem the torrent of vice. Adjoining Sligo Ville is a small pimento plantation. The apprentices are all of one family, consisting of seven brothers, sister, and mother; we walked to them at work in the field. Their master has made one of the brothers driver of the rest. In conversation he acknowledged he was forced to cat his mother and sister, when they would not work, during the days of slavery; but now said

he, they d'ont mind me, for my power is transferred to the Special Magistrate. Yes, thought I, the loss of a great evil has brought the gain of real good ; for doubtless they love thee more.

SIR LIONEL SMITH'S motto is "conciliation, conciliation, conciliation," which treplet he is very partial to; but unfortunately it is a one sided treplet. Lord SLIGO'S character I much admire ; he treated the present governor with the greatest courtesy ; sent his carriage to meet him at Kingston, yet Sir LIONEL SMITH would not buy Lord SLIGO'S country house and furniture, for one thousand five hundred pounds, though the furniture alone cost many hundreds. Lord SLIGO therefore sold it to a private individual, but pulled the telegraph down he had erected to communicate with Spanish Town and Port Royal. Sir L. SMITH found however that his town house was too hot and confined for a continued residence, and now lives at Highgate, as tenant-at-will, in the same house he might have purchased with the telegraph much beneath its value. The residence is not more than a quarter of a mile from this Missionary Station, which J. M. PHILIPPO called Sligo Ville, in compliment to Lord SLIGO. On becoming acquainted with the state of things here, I more and more regret Lord SLIGO'S leaving ; he is one of "nature's noblemen." J. M. P. before his departure asked him his opinion as to slavery ; he replied, "my hand has signed years back many a document to uphold the old system ; but I had

rather my hand had withered than I had done so ; and if I was only now supported at home, I would go hand in hand with the Anti-Slavery Society." Having these views he wrote to Lord GLENELG, saying, if he was not supported he must resign ; this was construed into a resignation, and accepted as such.

Sligo Ville is an interesting station ; a day and evening school have been established, the latter for the apprentices ; they come willingly six miles after their day's work, stay till nine o'clock, then walk home to be ready for the field, by six A. M. ; few things yield a speedier return than instruction. Negroes spare no exertion when they meet with encouragement, either in the acquirement of learning, or for a maintenance ; witness the extraordinary loads they carry on their heads to market, walking all night to the Saturday's market, sitting exposed to the sun through the day, and then returning home : a negro woman may be seen driving three laden mules, and carrying a heavy load herself ; there is no begging by the road side ; they are like bees going and returning ; they may hail massa going by, with a "good mornin," but never ask for pity and condolence. I do not admire the negro's skin and countenance ; but I admire their character, it is full of noble traits ; such as gratitude, domestic and local attachments ; and they have, in a great degree, the virtue of cleanliness ; their huts are generally neat. I have never seen a

congregation at worship, but I could, without discomfort, have sat anywhere, when in their Sunday apparel; I cannot say this of England, Ireland, or Scotland; yet the planters designate them all as rascals: a gentleman told me this day, that an acquaintance came to him, and said, "well Mr. R——, you are going to lose your servant; he is a rascal, like the rest of them, a'ynt he?" "No," replied R., "he is not a rascal, but an excellent domestic;" "well then, do send him to me," said the other, "for I can't find one." R. replied, "he is not inclined for service, or he would not leave me; but having married, he wishes to commence business, by opening a shop." Is it not surprising they should treat the whites with so much civility, when they are spoken of and treated in this way? I firmly believe the efforts of the Missionaries, will develop the negro character: the reading and spelling, in this recently established school, would do credit to any country; on hearing a young class sing, "perpendicular is to stand upright," I was reminded of the little P——s; the variety of tunes is amusing; nearly all the instruction is conjoined with attempted harmony. J. M. PHILIPPO has no funds for his recently established school, at Sligo Ville; it affords instruction to the apprentices on the neighbouring estates, yet no planter gives a stiver towards its support; but to put it down, would not hundreds soon be raised? Education will turn the tables; planters will find, that how-

ever unwilling to respect the skin, they must, in spite of their prejudices, respect intelligence and uprightness. J. M. P. has an excellent plan to draw attention and raise funds, for his Spanish Town metropolitan schools. In the school room an annual bazaar is displayed; the articles, as trinkets, books, et cet., are sent by the benevolent in England, and each stand has a large placard, showing from whence they came, as Peckham stand, Tottenham stand; there has been great want of a Birmingham stand, as boys prefer knives and tools, to pincushions: I have been able, from articles I brought out, to furnish a supply for the first Birmingham stand; and I hope, Birmingham will not be behind other places, but keep it up.*

11th. Rain is always expected this month, and yesterday it fell gratefully; the drought has been threatening, and the atmosphere has been heated; the sun is vertical the 20th. of this month, so that a check to his influence, from clouds and rain, is very welcome; this pure, cooler air invigorates me; my thermometer, this morning, was 72°, in town it would have been 82°; and the appearance around has been novel and striking: the mountain heights were clear and distinct, even the Blue Mountain Peak; but the valleys were all filled with a dense fog: ocean masses of

* Since my return a subscription has been set on foot. I shall be glad to receive donations for this object, or they may be handed to JOSEPH STURGE.

clouds, white as snow, and misty vapours, "o'er the Marish glided;" the sun's rays, and the morning breeze, awakened up these drowsy mists; standing high above, I watched the growing confusion; islands and continents of vapour rolled away, as if conscious they had lain too long; it looked solid enough to roll up, and make a ball of; perhaps I acquired this idea from the inelegant one of "slicing a London fog." The Chapel, at this station, is a very simple one, a large room attached to the dwelling: we attended family worship this morning; the orphans, with some other scholars, sang a hymn, though a few months ago they were ignorant of their letters: the interest felt by the negroes here, for religious communion, has aroused the zeal of a neighbouring Clergyman; he has been recently ordained. I think the Bishop would have withheld his sanction, if he had known of his singular method for promoting religion; he cannot be esteemed as an apostolic vicar; he plays the violin on a Saturday evening, to induce the negroes to come and dance through the night, that they may not disperse, but be assembled ready for his ministry on the Sabbath; and he says he could not collect them otherwise. The methodists are promoting education nobly; this week they lay the foundation stone of a new school, the first of nine, to be erected on the government plan; a Minister is come out to superintend them; he has visited the metropolitan school, without calling upon J.

M. PHILIPPO : religious distinctions should not destroy the courtesies of life.

I cannot imagine how any mind can think, that when slavery has passed away, there will be an "*hiatus valde deflendus*;" for my part I wish it may not be said, "*stat umbra nominis.*" Slavery, in my opinion, destroys domestic comfort; too many individuals are about the house, who must be provided for; hence, domestics in the yards, and pickaninnies walking about the dwelling, interrupting privacy; if any one is playing the piano forte, the black servant stands in the open door way, to listen to the music; what occurs at a ball in Demerara, I have elsewhere noticed; these freedoms are indulgences; the persecutions are tolerably well known; and what is affecting, they teach how to persecute: negro mothers beat their little naked niggers fearfully; a cow skin smacks on their backs, too much like a cart whip; the cries are heart-rending; this frequently occurs in Demerara and Barbadoes, the method of correcting negro children being by flagellation.

The cheapest thing in the West Indies is warmth; it is to be had for nothing, being dispensed freely every day; not by man, he dispenses ill-will, which bye the bye is also cheap. Needful articles are dear enough. Mutton is a shilling per pound; beef tenpence. Where expenses are great the means must be proportionate. W——, the young man who teaches the Baptist

Queen-street Schools, and occasionally officiates at Port Royal, has a salary of two hundred pounds sterling, and says he could not live for less. A physician's fee is three pounds three shillings; and a gentleman told me he had paid one hundred pounds per annum for medical attendance, and his family is small. In a fruitful field like Jamaica, these things ought not to be; abundance of all things needful might be grown; yet the colonies depend on America for supplies; yes, even to horse corn. Slavery has been a sort of idol, to which all whites are expected to bow in some way or other; either in abuse of the negroes, or in upholding the "peculiar institutions;" in thought, word, and deed; if not, he is an enemy to "ships, colonies, and commerce." There is great enslavement of the mind; the minister is afraid of losing his pulpit; the doctor his patient; the tradesman his customer; and all stand in fear of the planters; which would be well, were they the patterns of right feeling and action. Slavery is a "canker worm;" apprenticeship is a "palmer worm;" and what the "canker worm has left, the palmer worm has eaten;" in other words, if any system could more irritate man against man, and awaken deeper malice than slavery, that system is the apprenticeship. Before it, there was the benevolence of the despôt; but the power having been taking out of the planter's hands, irritation rankles in his mind, and it has rooted out what kindness had there a place.

The climate is healthy for those who need not undergo great exertion, as shop and store keepers ; no shivering or cold feet need be dreaded, and from five to seven A. M. exposure in the open air is delightful. Fragrant breathings accompany the wanderer ; beauty is before him, and spicy odours at his right hand ; in short to sum up, there are balmy mornings, scorching noons, placid evenings, star light nights, skins of all colours, quadron and mustee, cruelty in man, magnificence in nature, with now and then a sharp hurricane, and shock of an earthquake. The negro is the man for the West Indies ; he alone can cultivate the soil, and therefore ought to be protected. In Barbadoes, on visiting a cane field, I observed two young men, the proprietors, with very singular faces ; on going up to them, I found they had masks on to protect them from the sun. They were sitting on horseback, each holding up an umbrella ; whilst the apprentices, heedless of the heat, were slashing the canes down. It will be long before the negros are able to secure their just and efficient rights, and I would urge the philanthropists of Britain not to relax their efforts, until individually they can say with JOSEPH STURGE, "*quod potui, feci, faciant meliora potentes.*" Persevere then, let me entreat you, as if stimulated by the energetic advice of the poet :

"Press on ! for in the grave there is no work,
And no device ; press on ! while yet ye may."

We intend to embark for New York on the 14th, by the *John White Cater* packet. If our voyage is prosperous, I shall write from thence, and in the meantime,

I remain,

Thy very affectionate son,

WILLIAM LLOYD.

LETTER XV.

New York, 6th. Month, 4th., 1837.

MY DEAR M——R.

I seize the present favourable opportunity of answering thy last very acceptable letter, which happily came safe to hand. We debarked from Jamaica as we intended, on the 14th of this month, and landed here on the sixteenth day afterwards, which is considered a good passage. The distance is about one thousand four hundred miles. Our company was equal to the ship's accommodation, amongst whom were the American gentlemen, T. A. THOME, and J. H. KIMBALL, which made it agreeable; a Jamaica coffee planter, J. F. PICKERSGILL, travelling for the benefit of very delicate health, who through an introduction placed himself under my care; and also a young man, a Canadian, FELIX HANDS. To check symptoms of consumption, this young man had avoided a Canadian winter, and spent it in Jamaica. His general appearance did not indicate the ravages of a mortal disease; but no sooner had we left the balmy tropics, than fatal symptoms began to show themselves. There were several other Ja-

maica residents on board : one an attorney and planter : their gentlemanly behaviour prevented all possibility of clashing from different views. The circumstance of J. F. P., placing himself under my care, proved that no ill will was in operation against us. In my invalided friend, J. F. P, I became much interested; he was young, only two years married, recently embarked in life, and in a precarious state of health. Since the commencement of the apprenticeship he had never brought any complaints before the Special Magistrate, and he had only one negro who had occasioned him any trouble. Need there be stronger evidence that the apprentices are tractable when properly treated? No striking incident occurred during the voyage. The sailors caught a shark soon after leaving Kingston harbour, and we were exposed to a gale of short continuance ; it was in our favour, so we drove before it : it only occasioned us the slight inconvenience of the loss of a meal, and of our top gallant yard arm, which broke before the sails were reefed.

We passed Sandy Hook on the evening of the 30th, and cast anchor in the lower bay shortly afterwards.

On the morrow, at day break,
Aurora found us all awake ;
Statten Island was before,
With neat white houses on the shore ;
Whilst on our right Long Island lay,
Green with verdure, fresh and gay.

Bright indeed that eastern hue,
 Vapours from the gray morn flew ;
 For the sun had left his bed,
 Beams of splendour round to shed :
 Here was a goodly prospect, yes,
 One which the Mariner could bless ;
 It met us on a vernal day,
 The thirtieth of our lovely May ;
 When lavish nature seemed to say, }
 Welcome stranger, come and see
 Columbia ! land of mystery !*

After breakfast we entered the Narrows, which divides the lower from the upper bay ; it is formed by the contiguity in that part of Stratten and Long Island ; this pass is strongly defended by batteries : having passed through, the upper magnificent Bay is seen in its wide expanse ; Long Island bounds it on the right ; Stratten Island and New Jersey on the left ; and on sailing up, the delta of Manhattan Island, on which new York stands, opens out. There are several islands in the Bay, named Blackwells, Bedloes, and Governors ; the latter most arrests the stranger's attention : it is very near the city, and has a circular battery upon it. The city, with its forests of masts, was very imposing in its outline, as we approached : the ships, extending up both the north and east river, enclose the city, and seem like its defensive armour ; but long may it be, before

* The union of the most degrading slavery, with their boasted republicanism, is mysterious.

these noble vessels, leave on any other errand than those of peace and commerce. We landed near the battery; a considerable extent of ground, at the point of the Delta fronting the bay, belonging to the corporation, and laid out with walks, which are shaded by trees, for the recreation of the citizens; the battery itself is fifty yards from the shore, to which there is a bridge; this is a circular fortification, enclosing a considerable area: and, as we are living in the "piping times of peace," it is fitted up for the display of fireworks, which are exhibited, during summer, several times a week, and is now designated by the name of the Castle Gardens. Our poor young invalid, FELIX HANDS, drooped at once on reaching a colder atmosphere: though the sea breezes were only invigorating to those in health, his delicate lungs could not bear the shock; he had been confined to his berth several days, previously to our arrival at New York; it was with the utmost difficulty, and under the greatest prostration of strength, that he left the vessel; and it grieves me to pen the melancholy termination, that on reaching a boarding house, as he was laid on a bed, he simultaneously breathed his last. T. H. and I attended his funeral the following day, as a mark of our respect; we were deeply impressed with the melancholy occasion; our acquaintance was short; but a fortnight at sea, with a suffering companion, plants a stem of feeling and friendship which is not easily uprooted.

FELIX HANDS is gone !
Most suddenly he fell,
Relations there were none,
To hear his funeral knell.
The sun was sinking fast,
The ship at anchor lay ;
Before the eve had past,
The spirit left its clay.
I nursed him on the deep ;
The ocean made us friends ;
And friends 'tis well to keep,
For friendship oft befriends.
Then sigh for FELIX HANDS,
Alas ! he is no more ;
Death severed life's frail bands,
He sank upon the shore.

The first impressions, on entering New York, are highly favourable ; the buildings generally are good : as leading characteristics, I would say, there are no very shabby houses ; no artizans, distinguishable by dirty faces, or beggars ; but crowds of genteel persons ; as if England being the workshop, this was the country where the articles were consumed, and so the residents had no occasion to soil their hands.

After a residence in the tropics, where few except negros, are to be seen in the streets ; it is very animating again to be where it is not ungentle for pale faces to walk out ; the impressions are of again meeting one's countrymen, and of being one of the community. The Americans have much nationality in their appearance ;

the men are rather tall, with penetrating, reflective, pale, immovable expression of countenance, accompanied with a very independent carriage; their dress is marked by an absence of articles which soil, such as shirt collars, light trowsers, or white cotton stockings; the prevailing dress being a simple black stock, dark trowsers, and boots; gloves are seldom worn: I could not but observe the general taste, on landing from the tropics, where the men dress in white "*a capite ad calcem.*" The ladies, in person, are very thin and pallid, with waists imaginary; their walking is a great contrast to the gentlemen's, it being mincing and restrained, as if they were bound by wires; their present fashion of dress is most disfiguring; they have gone into an opposite extreme to the full sleeves, which are now tight, with five or six large frills, or furbelows round each elbow; to walk behind a thin American lady, with this dress on, makes it difficult to restrain a smile, at its extraordinary inappropriateness for a spare person.

Broad Way is the principal street; it is several miles long, running from the Castle Gardens, or Battery Place, the whole length of the city; omnibuses ply up and down, reminding one of home. Our quarters are at the American hotel, which stands about mid-way up it; before us are the city hall, and post-offices, situated in an open space of ground, called the Park, verdant with grass and trees: on the city hall is a large bell, and a man is always stationed there,

I am told, to look out for fires. Two fires have already occurred since our arrival ; one was near enough for me to see the flames, and property to a large amount was destroyed. The city hall bell first tolled, and then all the " church going bells," or rather fire going, in the city : the city hall bell is struck in a different manner for every ward, or district of the town ; the firemen, therefore, on counting the strokes, know at once where to go, and they go quickly ; a few minutes after the bell tolls, engines are rolling thither from all quarters. On our right hand is ASTOR'S hotel, which erection cost one hundred thousand pounds ; the proprietor, a foreigner, I believe a German, is still living ; he came over to America a poor boy, and has realised great wealth ; WASHINGTON IRVING'S Astoria, develops the character of this successful man. The American Hotel is also upon a large scale, as hotels generally are here. The customers are of two classes, boarders, and tradesmen ; the former occupy a distinct part of the house, and take their meals at different hours, breakfasting at eight, and dining at four ; whilst the former breakfast at half past seven, and dine at three. The boarders are married couples, single ladies, and other characters, amongst whom are casual visitors like ourselves. We sit down to table, eat and drink, without being merry ; approximate neighbours do not speak, without they are relations, or intimately acquainted ; no wine is upon the table, no malt

liquor is handed ; but solids are, however, laid out in abundance, and of excellent quality ; the servants are sufficiently numerous to attend to the wants of each individual. There is a novelty in this independence, which is attractive ; this solitude amidst society, certainly affords an opportunity to make a good dinner ; and where else could such a scene be witnessed ; between one and two hundred genteel people sitting at dinner, and not a single voice heard ? Is this one of the arrangements accruing from republican independence ? Changes are frequently carried beyond the line of usefulness ; the absence of wine at dinner, and of the decanters afterwards, are agreeable to those of temperate habits : each leaves the table as his meal is finished ; and those who are inclined to drink, must indulge their inclination at the bar ; but the monotony of silence, though impressive at first, inclines to the belief, there is a want of confidence, and sociability in the party. Our friends, KIMBALL and THOME, are quartered at a Vegetable Hotel, in which neither meats nor stimulants are allowed, not even coffee ; the diet consisting of bread, rice, milk, and such like. It has been opened to the public, in accordance with the views of Dr. GRAHAM, who lectures upon diet, and advocates this system ; here the gourmands may reduce themselves, and get rid of hypo, (the term made use of for hypochondriacism,) and the extra abstemious may follow out their favourite principle. I have no doubt many

invalids will be benefitted, though it will never remove the "flesh pots" of America.

One evening we met the New York Anti-Slavery Committee at their office in Nassau-street, and were introduced to A. and L. TAPPAN, the unflinching advocates of Negro Emancipation. The members present were interested with the information we were enabled to give in such a limited period of time, the usual routine of business having first to be gone through; it was cheering to become acquainted with philanthropists of such untiring zeal; they can now meet in safety to discuss their prospects; whereas only a few years have elapsed since their office was assailed. Perhaps thou wilt say, how can this be? Cannot Americans do as they like? Have not the northern states emancipated their slaves, and secured their freedom? They have, so far as regards personal freedom; but as regards the political rights of freemen, it is only nominal. In this city the Mayor and Corporation will not grant a license to a negro to drive a hackney coach, or a ticket to be a porter or carman. What is that freedom worth, where a man is not allowed to hire out a horse and cart? The system is to keep all methods of livelihood, which the whites are willing to do, in their own hands; on which account the blacks are literally hewers of wood and drawers of water; those therefore who have families are withheld from advancement, yes, from a creditable position in society;—young colored people live more respectably,

and have somewhat better opportunities ; they are waiters at hotels, and on steam-boats ; these situations being open to them. I am not sure they would be, if waiters were paid here as they are in England ; at present there are no vails to excite the cupidity of the whites ; the negroes are therefore allowed to occupy these spheres of usefulness. The disabilities under which the colored population labour in the free states, seem to act upon the negroes as if an exterminating principle was at work. An individual of close investigation informs me, that whilst in the slave breeding states the blacks increase in numbers, in the free states they diminish ; and that Jersey, which manumitted her slaves, comparatively speaking only a few years back, has now but few negroes within her boundary. These facts do not say much for the kindness of the christian republic.

We have been kindly noticed by several Englishmen ; viz.—JAMES FULLER, from Bristol, and F. METFORD, son of J. M., of Bath ; we breakfasted with the latter at W. S.'s, who hospitably entertained us ; it gave us the opportunity of seeing the arrangement of a New York domicile. We sat down to our *dejeunèr* in the basement which corresponds to an English cellar, as to its site, but not as to outfit ; the front basement is fitted up as a dining room, in which apartment all the meals are taken, the table remaining in "*statù quó* ;" and when one meal is concluded, the cloth is again laid for the next in turn. The

after basement is the kitchen; so that dishes are easily carried from one to the other. The upstairs parlours, which are only divided by folding doors, are thus dapper for callers; neither crumbs from the breakfast, or savour from the dinner table, can possibly annoy those who have not partaken; and on this plan a house is always neat, even with few hands; and servants being expensive inmates in America, it is an object to limit their number. A very inexperienced girl expects six dollars per month, which is upwards of fourteen pounds per annum. Rents have been extremely high for some years. F. M. tells me he gives one hundred pounds per annum for his house, which is only two stories high. His parlour has two windows in front. Such a house in England might be had for thirty pounds; this would not include the underground apartments; and having a great predilection for the basement, (it is cool in summer, and warm in winter,) I must add twenty pounds for that; even then, the rents in New York are at least double: for these reasons and others, I am satisfied that families, who come here without a certain prospect of an income, under the idea of economising, are disappointed in their "*el dorado.*" The atmosphere is very clear, and the days warm, but not oppressive to us, so recently from the tropics. The nights try me more; the reason is, bed rooms at the hotels are mere closets, with a stump bedstead in each, comfortless in appearance. It

is very provoking after taking one's meals in a noble saloon, and musing in a large news-room, to be penned up for the night in one of these close confined nooks. The American system is to accommodate many, rather than to indulge a few. The mind has one comfort, that no distinction is made, all being served alike, and each one is treated as belonging to the family. On entering an hotel, an individual writes his name at the bar, in a day book kept for the purpose, against which is affixed the number of his bed room; and as long as he remains, he has no occasion ever to ring a bell: the bells are rung for him. Half-an-hour before breakfast a domestic rings a bell along every passage, as notice to arise; it rings again at the breakfast hour, and punctually for each meal; the last meal is at six P. M., and is called supper; it is a union of the two previous ones, combining the tea and coffee of breakfast, with the cheese and meat of dinner: after which the boarder, at his own time, goes to his closet, without any necessity having been imposed upon him, of speaking a word for twelve hours. There is one little article (a spittoon) which we allot to corners, here has an admission into drawing, dining, and bed-rooms; and though very numerous, it is by no means thickly enough planted to save the carpets and floors. The above term at once explains the habit Americans have acquired; it is national, and really detracts from the purity of republican manners. I am inclined to think under

monarchical institutions the force of public opinion would check it ; every effect has a cause, and the cause of this is chewing tobacco, the leaves of which are pressed as solid as a board, and sold under the name of cavendish ; a threepenny wedge of which will enable any novice to become an expert practioner.* Were it not for this, cleanliness would be more observable, and deserve the meed of praise From the absence of coal smoke, the city has a light airy appearance, the bricks never acquiring the dingy hue of Birmingham ; they are frequently made brighter in their appearance by paint, which together with the outside green blinds, give the houses a fresh and lively hue.

A stranger cannot trace the effects of the destructive fire of 1835 ; it occurred at Christmas, and owing to the intense frost, the water froze in the hose, so that the engines were useless ; one million pounds sterling of property are estimated to have fallen a sacrifice. The streets are again rebuilt in a very substantial manner. Pearl-street is certainly one of the handsomest commercial thoroughfares in the world. The exchange in Wall-street is not yet finished, though considerable progress has been made. The brothers TAPPANS fared

* Two of my English acquaintances have described the impression this disgusting habit made on their minds in forcible similes ; one thought it was as if the whole nation was in a state of salivation ; the other, whilst sitting in a meeting for worship, thought it was raining outside ; in reality it was raining tobacco juice within.

better than their neighbours in that fire, from a singular circumstance. On account of their being abolitionists, the New York Fire Insurance Companies would not take the risk of their property, deeming it unsafe from popular commotion; they had therefore to insure elsewhere, in Boston and Philadelphia. After the fire, the claims were so great upon the city companies, they could not meet the demands, and were broken up; whilst the TAPPANS, having been sent to a distance, recovered the amount of their insurance.

The east river, which separates Long Island from the city of New York, is much narrower than the north river, being about a mile wide. On the shore opposite New York, Brooklyn is situated; a large town, but with country advantages, many of the streets having avenues of trees, formed of the willow and locust. The heights of Brooklyn look down upon New York, and the residences are charming; many merchants reside there; and from the convenience of the ferries, little time is wasted; there are several of these, as that of South Brooklyn, Fulton, St. Catherine's, and others; whose steamboats ply every five minutes all day, and great part of the night; carts and carriages drive on to them. The tides here cause no inconvenience; the rise and fall of water is only a few feet; and to meet this, there are floating gangways; one end is hinged to the shore, and the other is lowered and raised to the height of the boat by a wheel.

These low tides are a great advantage to the scenery around New York ; for even at the Castle Gardens, at low water there is only a few feet of bare shore, so that the prospect is never sullied by mud. There are ferries also across the north river to Jersey city, Weehawken, and Hoboken. At Hoboken are the Elysian Fields, whose rural walks invite the field-loving cit; if not "*rus in urbe*," it is *rus juxta urbem*, and a delightful place wherein to escape from town murmurs. Besides these attractions, near at hand there are steam boats morning and evening up the Hudson to Albany and Troy, for those who are anxious to see the "far west." These river boats are of a very different mould to our snug sea boats ; some of them have four large chimneys, and the boilers and machinery being upon the deck, the engine beams are much elevated, one on each side of the boat, each boat having two engines. The accommodation for passengers is extensive, consisting of the dining saloon, beneath the main deck ; this main deck has a flat roof, and this flat roof is another deck, called the hurricane, and is covered with an awning.

The all engrossing subject of conversation is the panic, and the suspension of specie payments, which took place nearly a month since, with all the city banks ; it is said they would all have been drained of specie in one or two more days, if they had not resisted the demand ; this, in England, would be called a bankruptcy ; here it

is the independent cleverness of bankers, taking care of their gold, or rather of that which belongs to other persons ; consequently, bankers' paper is at a discount, and gold at a premium ; a sovereign, which in general is not worth more than four dollars eighty cents, or thereabouts, is now worth five dollars and a half. The merchants are failing on all hands ; there were thirty stopt in this city on one day, and I shall send forward with this a list of three hundred names, who in a few weeks, have exchanged affluence for poverty ; the suddenness of the event is as complete as its extent ; some who had their carriages a month ago, are now within the pinching gripe of want. W. N—— and family, who were on board the *Oscar*, from St. Thomas' to Jamaica, and again of our party from Jamaica here, considered himself a wealthy man, having built his residence at New York, which, with the plot, cost some thousands of pounds : he had been absent travelling, to see his relations, for several months, and knew nothing of the panic till the pilot came on board ; even then he had little fear, but on stepping ashore, he found N—— brothers, had stopt payment : what a humiliation, what a draw back to the joy of returning home, which he had been fondly anticipating. A stranger on arriving, is not at first aware of the state of affairs ; the populace are peaceable, the shops are open, and in the midst of confusion, there is abundance ; he could not tell, from the appearance of New York,

that anything was wrong ; one reason is, there are no bankrupt laws ; no names are published, no commissions opened, no stores closed ; parties stopping payment, if they can show fair accounts, and forthcoming assets, are allowed by their creditors to conduct the business on their behalf, and eventually to resume it ; if not, they wind it up themselves : what would English attorneys say to this method ? The Americans, from the extent of their commerce, think, if they lead the way, Europe must follow ; and, therefore, predict that the Bank of England will suspend ; perhaps the Bank may be of the same opinion as Sir FRANCIS HEAD ; who in one of his speeches said, “the first principle of monarchy is honour.” This convulsion is supposed to have been occasioned by overtrading, and by the late President, General JACKSON’S overthrow of the United States’ Bank ; its charter, which expired in 1834, was not renewed ; consequently its branches, established in each State, were discontinued, and there has been no proper medium of exchange between the different States since ; the government continue the war against paper money, and will only receive specie for dues ; it is, therefore, a contest betwixt the government and the commercial paper money loving community : time will show which is to be the victor.

T. HARVEY has concluded to return to England on the eighth inst., and will be the bearer of this letter : I intend staying a few months in the

States ; my next companion, for a time, will be J. F. P——, the Jamaica resident, mentioned before ; from the circumstance of my going hand in hand with a coffee planter, I think I shall have the credit of having made at least one convert, to my abolition principles. I believe so small an harvest would not meet the views of my friend JOSEPH STURGE, and am inclined to think, he will not be satisfied till he has converted two thirds of the British nation, and through them, a majority of the Island legislatures. I hope all his undertakings will end as prosperously as our visit ; it having now terminated, we feel very thankful for the merciful preservation extended to us by a kind and benign Providence : “The Lord on high is mightier than the noise of many waters, yea, than the mighty waves of the sea.”

I remain,

Thy very affectionate son,

WILLIAM LLOYD.

APPENDIX .

BARBADOES JAIL.

O ! should you ever see Barbadoes Jail,
Your eyes in truth shall make your hearts to quail,
At misery which tyranny must cause,
When it can make its own vindictive laws.
How well I recollect the horrid den,
In which at sun-set they confined the men ;
The room quite small, the number several score,
And yet no limit, there might still be more.
This dank apartment had a bed of stone,
Built round against the wall, and that alone,
For them to sit or lie on in the night,
Till roused for labour at the morning light ;
No stool, no board, I hint not at a bed,
On which each might recline his drooping head :
The place was nothing better than a sty ;
And in this piggery poor negros lie.
By day, with *hammers soft*,* they break hard stones,
Then pass the night in languishing and groans ;
Can fancy picture any harder lot ?
Than such exposure, where the sun's so hot ;

* See Page 14.

Breaking large stones, as on the ground they lie, }
 And then at night confined within that styè ; }
 If this is life, 'tis better far to die : }
 The bruised and broken also leave the mill,
 Which by revolving, works the planter's will !
 Yes, that shin breaking and revolving wheel,
 Brings hourly anguish in its daily reel ;
 To see poor women's arms across a bar,
 And men above them, higher perched by far,
 Forcing their weight upon the women's wrists,
 And pressing down with heavy grasping fists ;
 To see each thus suspended by one arm,
 Awakens painful feelings of alarm.
 Two women having lost the proper tread
 The wheel required, as round and round it sped ;
 Suspended by the elbows they were hung,
 And O ! the anguish which from them was wrung ;
 The driver's cow-skin now twists round their legs,
 Whilst each with plaintive voice for mercy begs ;
 " Massa, me massa, O sweet massa, me,
 Upon the step again will try to be ;"
 Their efforts fail ; now hear their piercing groans ;
 Each step which follows step, skins their shin bones ;
 From depths of misery the sighs are deep,
 And sad the tears when the oppressed weep.
 To see that wheel stained round with human blood,
 Whilst driver with his cat behind them stood,
 Was quite enough to harrow Nero's heart,
 And make him from his cruelty depart ;
 But mercy was not there, round the wheel goes,

And from each bruised shin the fresh blood flows.
Now when the minute glass had run its spell,
Which was ten minutes, then the women fell ;
Their wrists being loosed, they dropt like leaden shot,
And in their fainting anguish cared not
For driver's call. O ! no, they were too faint ;
All language fails such dreadful scenes to paint.
The agony they at that hour endured,
Surely from hearts of flesh would have insured
Christian compassion ; and a slight attempt
To lessen in my mind, anger, contempt :
Would such had been ! for at that direful hour
Pale Buckrah's breast was sealed 'gainst pity's power.
Alas ! poor negros whether ill or well,
Day after day you pace each daily spell ;
And there are several of ten minutes length,
Although the first should quite exhaust your strength :
It is no matter, you must take your turn,
And broken shins and bruised elbows earn.
Enough ! enough ! let others tell the rest ;
That which I've penn'd is not from fiction drest.

THE RIVER DEMERARA.



Guiana's stream, what can be said of thee ?
 Thou art not in thy waters bright and pure ;
 But round thy borders there is seen to be
 A rank fertility, which could allure
 Pale Buckrah, with his passions from afar ;
 Round thee he settled, bought poor negro slaves,
 He made them work, he lashed them to his car,
 He whipt their flesh, he pressed them to their graves,
 That he might cultivate the luscious cane ;—
 Most fearlessly he lavished tears and pain.

Foul Avarice ! how thou dost mar the mind !
 Below the ignoble brute thou sinkest man ;
 Man with his boasted reason falls behind,—
 And through the fleeting days of his short span,
 With cruelty he seeks for sordid wealth ;
 From victims bleeding, 'tis the price of blood ;
 Their life, their happiness, their welfare, health,
 Their temporal and their eternal good,
 Appear as nothing in his jaundiced eye ;
 As brutes they work, and worse than brutes they die.

And by what right is man a despot made ?
 The white to tyrannise, t'enslave the black ?
 Is he to bleed, because a darker shade
 Has been impressed upon his tawny back ?
 And here the negro ought himself be chief,
 His constitution is the fittest here ;
 From sol's proud orb he needs but slight relief ;
 That orb which in the tropics bright and clear,
 Darts a bright beam most difficult to paint,
 Yet one that makes the white man sick and faint.

Stabroek ! now George Town ! doubtless there is much
 Within, around thee, to admire, and praise,
 A monument of the industrious Dutch,
 O'er rank alluvial soil a town to raise ;
 But was it so ? O ! that it had so been !—
 Poor negros say, “that you were not the means,—
 You were task masters ; we were to be seen
 The instruments whence so much richness teems ;”——
 When I behold the work which has been done,
 I fear the lash, and threats, the conquest won.

You are a hardy race, I've watched you toil,
 With limbs all bare, 'neath a meridian sun,
 And have admired your efforts on that soil,
 How you would not oppressive labour shun ;
 Daily successive hours you stand exposed
 To heat, which fevers and destroys white man :
 Had I not seen, I could not have supposed
 There had been those upon this earth who can
 Endure to labour, 'neath such burning rays,
 Year after year, aye, many thousand days.

'Tis wonderful to think that man should be,
 To any thing which breathes the vital air,
 The instrument of savage cruelty ;
 And that so weak a being, dares to dare
 The just displeasure of the Omnipotent ;
 O ! how can Mercy, though so sparing, spare
 Him who inflicts deep woe to such extent ?
 Who for the afflicted feels no Christian care,
 But having steeled his heart to Mercy's law,
 MIGHT makes his right, a right without a flaw.

JAMAICA, HAYTI, AND THE INDIANS.

Farewell Jamaica ! land of springs farewell !

A gentle breeze now wafts thee from my sight ;
Thy woes, thy griefs, destroyed that pleasing spell,
Which else had entertained me day and night.

Mine was a short, mere temporary, stay,

Barely two months winged their excursive flight,
Through week, through night, through hour, and through
the day,

Whilst I remained amidst thy flowerets bright ;
And yet enough to satisfy my mind,
Without heart-breaking,—now thou'rt left behind.

Around there is a soft and radiant light,

O'er land of spices, and o'er land of sun ;
Now St. Domingo lies upon our right,
And by thy rock Navarez, we have run.

It is not difficult, where skies are mild ;

'Tis easy with a favouring breeze to shun
Rocks, which on this, or on that side are piled,
Frowning in russet grey or deeper dun.

Antillean waters, ye are sweet as canes,
Save now and then when swept by hurricanes.

Jamaica's peaks, St. Catherine's, and Blue,

Shall never more attract my wandering eye ;
I have been one of your admirers true,
Gazing upon your altitude so high :

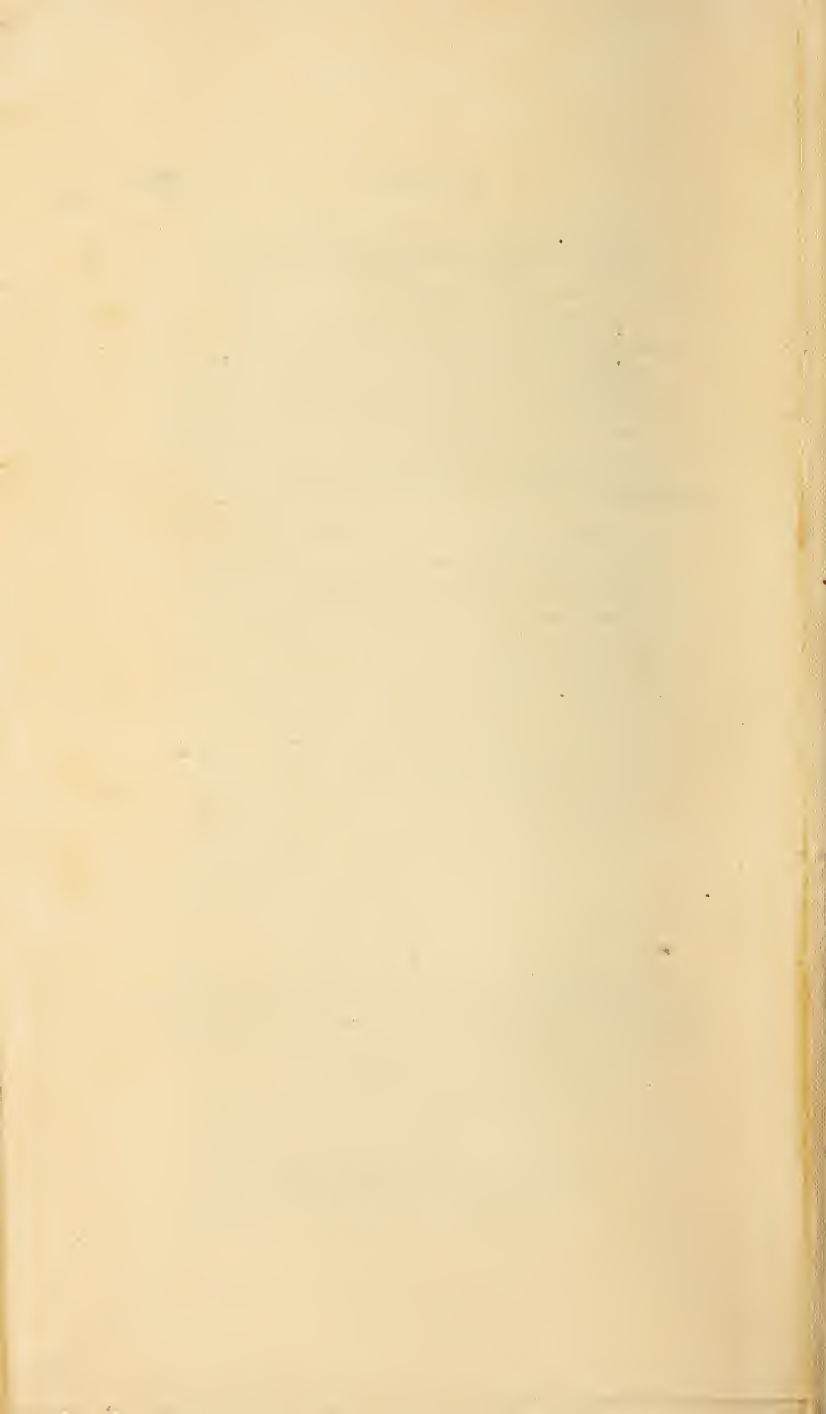
Thousands of feet, and yet so bright and clear,
Coffee and many goodly fruits grow nigh,
Those lofty summits, which in Europe dear,

Would seldom have around a clear blue sky ;
But be enveloped in snow, mist and storm,
O'erhung by darkness, e'en in vernal morn.

Cape Tiburon of Hayti, now looks down
Upon the circling waters which we press ;
It has a noble aspect in its frown,
And is not insignificant, or less,
Than Yallah's hill, peering near Morant Bay ;
Whites do not sully now thy native dress
Of wild flowers, flourishing in noon-tide ray ;
Their power is gone, on which they laid such stress.
Tyrants they were, the Blacks have now the start
Of those who would inflict their cruel smart.

But where are ye ? poor Indians you are gone,
You've passed away from your luxuriant shades ;
You sun which bright upon the Christians shone,
No more can gladden you, amidst your glades.
Millions and millions perished in the mines ;
The mind with pain through your sad history wades :
That sun as then upon each mountain shines ;
But you have left your tyrants cruel aids.
You are but seen in history, known in ink ;
And thus the human chain has lost a link.*

* St. Domingo or Hayti at the time of its discovery in 1492, is stated to have had a population of two million Indians ; and in 1545, not more than one hundred and fifty were alive. These red men were just, generous, and humane, and a different race from the Caribs of the Windward Islands.







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